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John Gratton graduated at Sheffield University after a career in banking and then obtained an M.A. and a Ph.D. He now works for Sheffield Hallam University Students' Union as Student Representative Co-ordinator.

Andrew Hopper gained his doctorate at the University of York on parliamentary allegiance in Yorkshire during the First Civil War and has recently published articles on related subjects. He is now a Research Officer on the Virtual Norfolk Project at the University of East Anglia.

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The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

A STONE AXE-HAMMER FROM TOWTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Ian Roberts

A Bronze Age stone axe-hammer has been found in a garden, on the eastern edge of the village of Towton, North Yorkshire (SE 48633948). There are no known prehistoric sites in this vicinity and the artefact was found within the garden soil at a depth of about 300 mm, without any apparent archaeological context. The implement has been retained by the owner, who released it briefly to the author for the purpose of archaeological recording and illustration (Fig. 1).

The axe-hammer is 215 mm long and 90 mm wide and weighs 2.5 kg. In profile the implement is distinctly concave, being thickest at its butt end where it is 70 mm. Its minimum thickness, around the perforation, is just 55 mm. The hole itself, centred 70 mm from the butt, was inserted at right angles through the implement, probably from both sides. The perforation has a minimum diameter of 30 mm, widening out to 45 mm at either face. It seems most likely that the shafthole was created by being pecked out from both sides, with the final perforation being made by drilling, in a way supposed by Fenton for some Scottish axe-hammers.¹

The axe-hammer appears from macroscopic inspection to be of greywacke. It is unpolished and there is no suggestion of decoration. Overall it has poor symmetry and much of its definition has been lost. There is considerable evidence of wear and tear on the flat butt end and blade, the latter being quite blunt and somewhat rounded. Typologically the concave profile and its thickness at the butt end places it in Roe's Class IIa of axe-hammers. Petrologically it falls into the Group XV category of implements, made of Cumbrian greywacke, found mainly in the north-west of England.²

Fewer than a thousand axe-hammers have been recorded nationwide, with about 10 per cent coming from Yorkshire, particularly the eastern part of the county. The Towton axe-hammer is a most notable addition to the thin Vale of York distribution mapped by J. Radley.³ The majority of petrological determined axe-hammers from Yorkshire are of Group XVIII, a dolerite sourced to the Whinsill that outcrops in Northumberland and Upper Teesdale. However, this material is common as erratics in the glacial tills along the Yorkshire coast, which probably accounts for the high occurrences of axe-hammers in that area.⁴ A mere six Group XV axe-hammers have been identified in Yorkshire,⁵ with only one other confirmed Class IIa axe-hammer being known from the county,⁶ making the Towton discovery of particular statistical significance.

¹ M. B. Fenton, 'The Nature of the Source and the Manufacture of Scottish Battle-axes and Axe-hammers', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 50 (1984), p. 228.

² F. E. S. Roe, 'Typology of stone implements with shaftholes', in *Stone Axe Studies*, ed. T. H. McK. Clough and W. A. Cummins, CBA Res Rep 23 (1979), pp. 25-41.

³ J. Radley, 'The Prehistory of the Vale of York', *YAJ*, 46 (1974), map fig. 3, p. 21.

⁴ P. Phillips, W. A. Cummins and L. Keen, 'The petrological identification of stone implements from Yorkshire: second report', in *Stone Axe Studies*, II, ed. Clough and Cummins, CBA Res Rep 67 (1988), pp. 52-59.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Roe, in *Stone Axe Studies* (1979), p. 29.

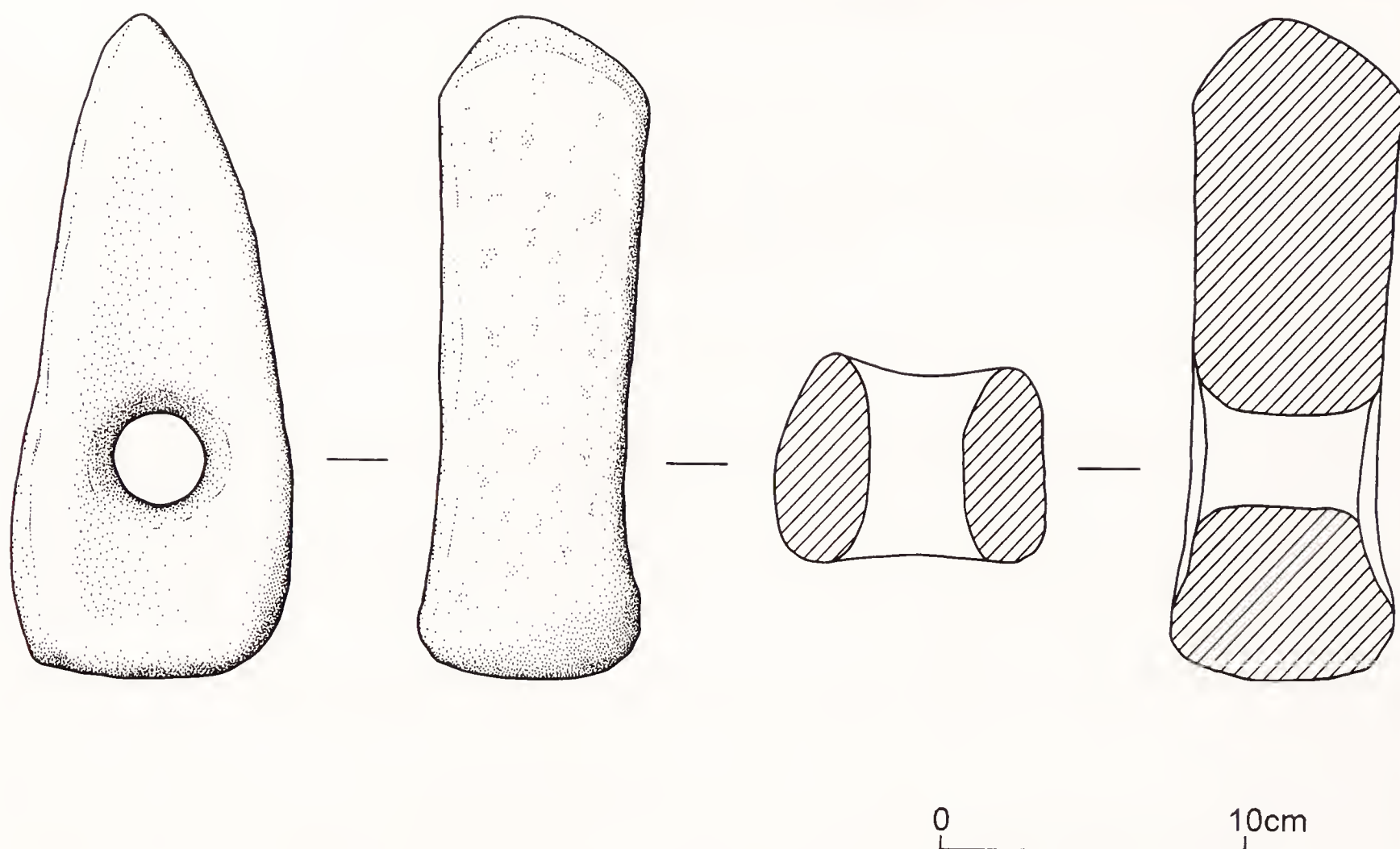


Fig. 1. Stone axe-hammer from Towton.

The chronology and possible functions of axe-hammers have been discussed elsewhere.⁷ Like most stone implements, axe-hammers are notoriously difficult to date, but are generally attributed to the Early to Middle Bronze Age.⁸ Almost certainly domestic in their function, they have variously been considered as handled wedges for splitting or felling timber, or as the points of ards.⁹ The Towton find is, unfortunately, not able to contribute anything conclusive to the debate. Nevertheless, it is perhaps noteworthy, given the uncertainty over their function, that the Towton example displays wear at the butt which is consistent with it having delivered (or received) high impact blows. Such wear, supposing that it was not the result of some later secondary use, would suggest a principal function akin to the handled wedges for splitting timbers.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it must be accepted that the wear to the blade, that has left it almost rounded in profile, might equally fuel the arguments of those scholars who lean towards the view that these artefacts were the points of Bronze Age ploughs.¹¹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are due to Rosemary Gosney and Janice Brown for bringing the artefact to my attention, to Don Henson for the geological identification, and to Mark Roughley for the illustrative work.

⁷ K. Leahy, 'A Dated Stone Axe-hammer from Cleethorpes, South Humberside', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 52 (1986), pp. 143–52; R. A. Varley, 'A Stone Axe-Hammer, Robin Hood's Penny Stone and Stone Circle at Wainstalls, Warley near Halifax, West Yorkshire', *YAJ*, 69 (1997), pp. 16–20.

⁸ I. F. Smith, 'The chronology of British stone implements', in *Stone Axe Studies* (1979), pp. 13–22.

⁹ See Leahy, note 7 for a full discussion.

¹⁰ For example, R. Bradley, *The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain* (London, 1978), p. 13.

¹¹ For example, P. J. Fowler, 'Later Prehistory', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 1, ed. S. Piggott (1986), pp. 160–65; Leahy, p. 149; Varley, p. 20.

SKELTON VILLAGE, HISTORY AND EXCAVATION

By Anne Screeton incorporating work by the late D. A. Spratt

Skelton Village lies 5 km north-west of the City of York, the village green lying on a small boulder clay hill on the 17-m contour, 200 m east of the A19 road to Thirsk.¹

The green is fronted on the north by the 1247 church, on the west by eighteenth-century cottages on medieval tofts, on the east by houses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the medieval hallgarth, and on the south by Orchard Field. This field contains long raised areas and it was reasonable to think that these might cover the remains of buildings, and that, as they lie at the centre of the historic village, they could date from early periods. After trial trenching in 1985, York Excavation Group decided to excavate on the raised areas.

THE STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL SKELTON

To understand the environments of the excavations it is necessary to deduce the medieval structure of the village. This can be done by the aid of maps, aerial photographs and field work, in three stages.

1. *Comparison of modern village with 1807 enclosure map*

Both 1807 map (Fig. 1) and modern village show a grid pattern, with the Town Street running north-west, at right angles to the Outgang (Moorlands Road) running north-east.² There are two toft compartments on both maps facing eastward on the Town Street, and the 1807 map shows another compartment facing north on the Outgang. The modern village shows a back lane behind the Town Street tofts and the 1807 map shows that this continued at its south end, turning east in a sinuous curve until it formed a back lane behind the Outgang tofts. It ended at a field track leading from the Outgang to the South Field. By 1807, however, the southern section of the back lane had been interrupted. This was done by the Place family who had purchased land in this area in the late eighteenth century to build Skelton Grange and develop its park and gardens. The 1807 map also shows the southern part of the village green and part of the Outgang awarded to Edward Place as an L-shaped piece of land which became part of Orchard Field.

2. *Comparison of the 1807 map with the 1630 map*

The 1630 map (Fig. 2) drawn for the disforestation of the Forest of Galtres, is not a detailed map of the village structure.³ However, with the aid of the 1807 map, a good reconstruction of the village can be made for 1630. The 1630 map shows the whole back lane as a continuous single line. The back lane was therefore completely intact, and this probably implies that the two toft compartments facing the Town Street were then one

¹ For a general account of Skelton, see H. E. C. Stapleton and M. J. A. Thompson, *Skelton Village — The Continuing Community* (York, 1971).

² Enclosure map of Skelton dated 11 December 1807, Borthwick Institute, York, Place Deeds, PL 124.

³ North Yorkshire County Record Office, Newburgh Priory Archive, ZDV V 15 (MIC 1282/7741). See D. A. Spratt, 'The 1630 Map of Skelton, York', *York Historian*, 7 (1986), pp. 28–33.

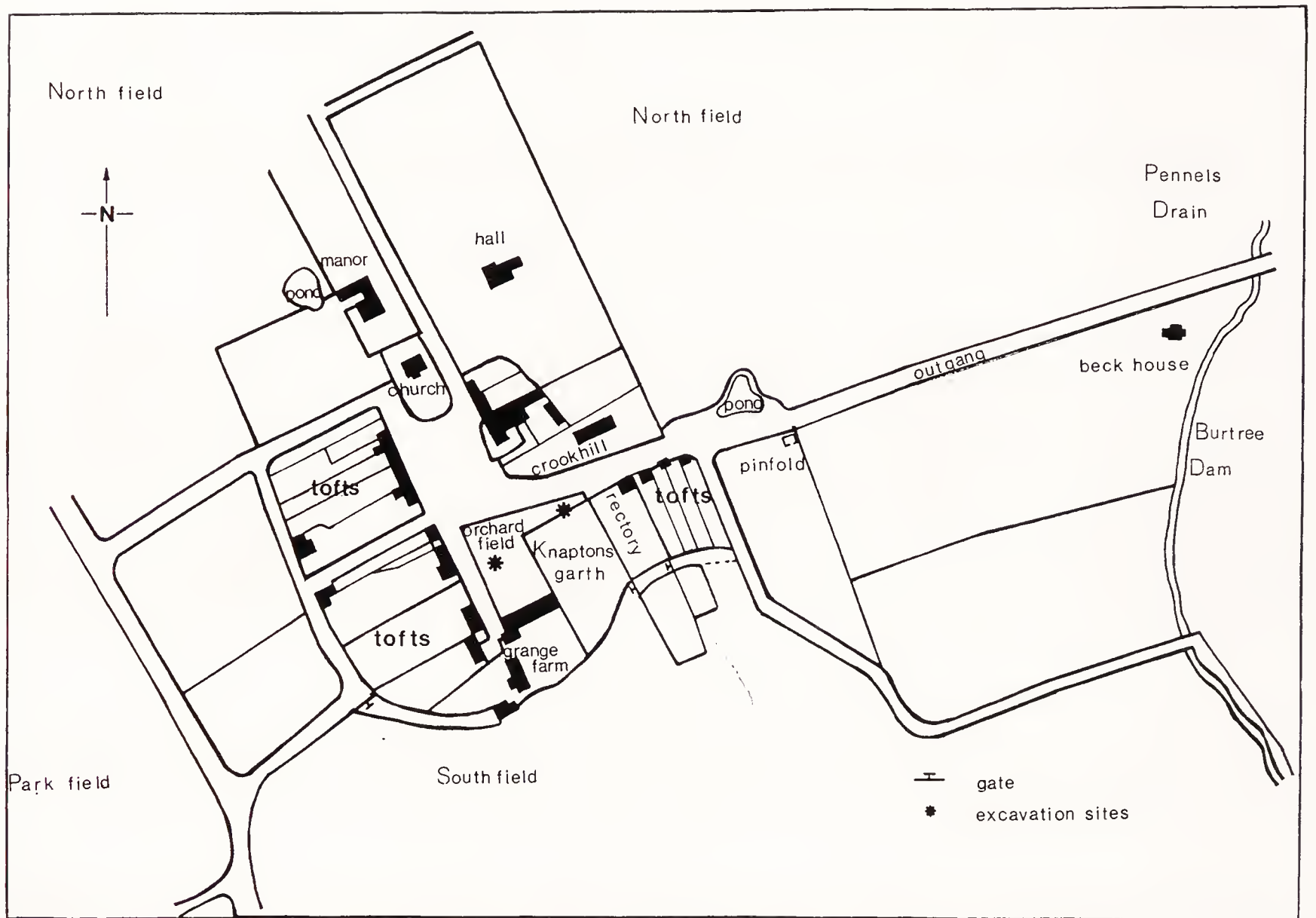


Fig. 1. Skelton in 1807 from the enclosure map, Borthwick Institute, PL 124.

single compartment. The manor house was certainly present in the late sixteenth century, for its architecture is of this period. The eastern half of Orchard Field was called Knapton's Garth in the 1742 Skelton Survey, part of the Outgang toft compartment.⁴

3. *Extrapolation to the Norman Period*

The 1630 map may be projected back in time with the aid of aerial photographs, in two ways. Firstly, the rigg-and-furrow strips butt right up to the 1945 village on all sides, and show the terminal aratral curves. The shape of the medieval village was therefore identical to the 1945 village (with the exception of six houses along the Outgang built 1935–40). Secondly, aerial photographs show clearly that the rigg-and-furrow was continuous across the present A19 road for 200 m opposite the village.⁵ This was also observed in the fieldwork for the Bootham School Survey of Skelton in 1956 and occurs nowhere else along the road.⁶ This shows that, whereas the A19 road by-passed the village in 1630, in earlier times it entered the village itself. It is clear that it joined the village at its south-west corner, but we do not know where it emerged. The shape of the A19 north of the village conforms to the curve of the strips in the North Field, showing that it started as a field track lying between the North and Park Fields going as far north as the parish

⁴ Survey of Skelton village, 1742, Borthwick Institute, PL 104.

⁵ RAF Vertical Aerial Photograph sortie 106G/UK/1306 frame 4401 (26 March 1946). The photograph is held by the National Monuments Record, English Heritage, NMRC, Kemble Drive, Great Western Village, Swindon, Wiltshire, SN2 2GZ where it may be consulted or from which copies can be obtained.

⁶ Bootham School Natural History and Archaeology Societies, 'A Survey of the Natural History, Architecture and History of the Parishes of Skelton and Overton' (unpublished, 1955 and 1956).

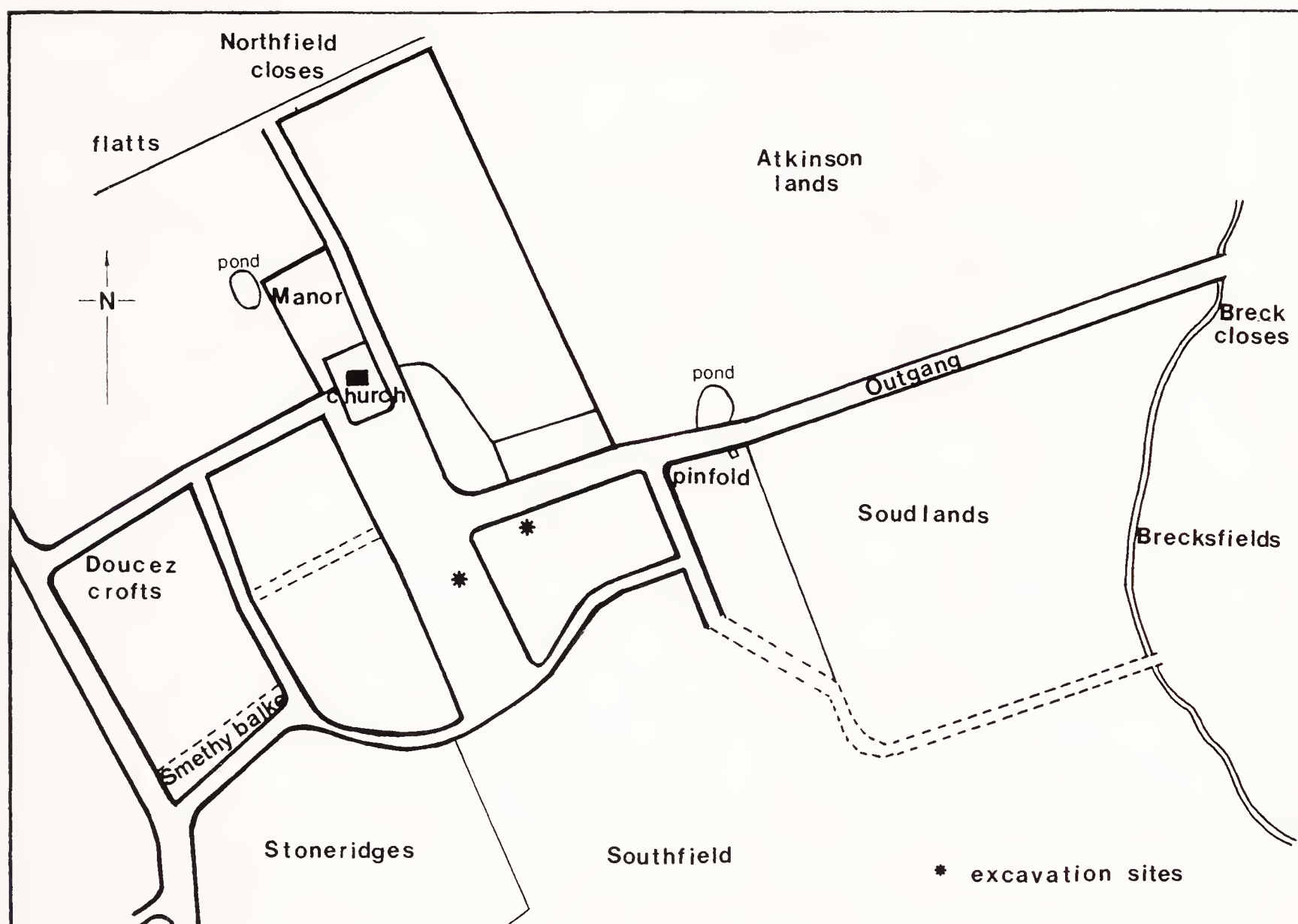


Fig. 2. Skelton in 1630 from a survey, North Yorkshire County Record Office, ZDV V 15 (MIC 1282/7741).

boundary. The A19 road having entered the village may simply have joined the Outgang whence it ran to the York-Crayke road a mile to the east, which was then the main road to the north. We do not know whether there was a church prior to 1247: there is no surviving early stonework, but an earlier church could well have been wooden. We do not know whether there were early buildings at either Skelton Manor or Skelton Hall; Domesday Book records only one principal hall in the village. A reconstruction of the Norman village (Fig. 3) shows that there is no doubt that the Outgang toft compartment was inhabited in this period, for, to anticipate the report, the excavation yielded much Northern Gritty pottery in this area and other medieval sherds showing continuity until the eighteenth century. Northern Gritty pottery can also be found frequently in the four medieval strip fields and other medieval strip fields surrounding the village. The idea that this village, like many others in North Yorkshire, was laid out following the 1070 Harrying of the North, is therefore consistent with the archaeology described later.

THE HISTORY OF ORCHARD FIELD

The field, at the time of writing, is used for public recreation. It has two old fruit trees showing that it had been an orchard in the nineteenth century. The presence of Pignut (*Canapodium Majus*) in the sward seems to indicate that grazing dates back at least several centuries. The plan of Orchard Field on the 1807 Enclosure Map as it was then awarded to the Place family, the major landowners in the village,⁷ shows the field divided into

⁷ Borthwick Institute, PL 124.

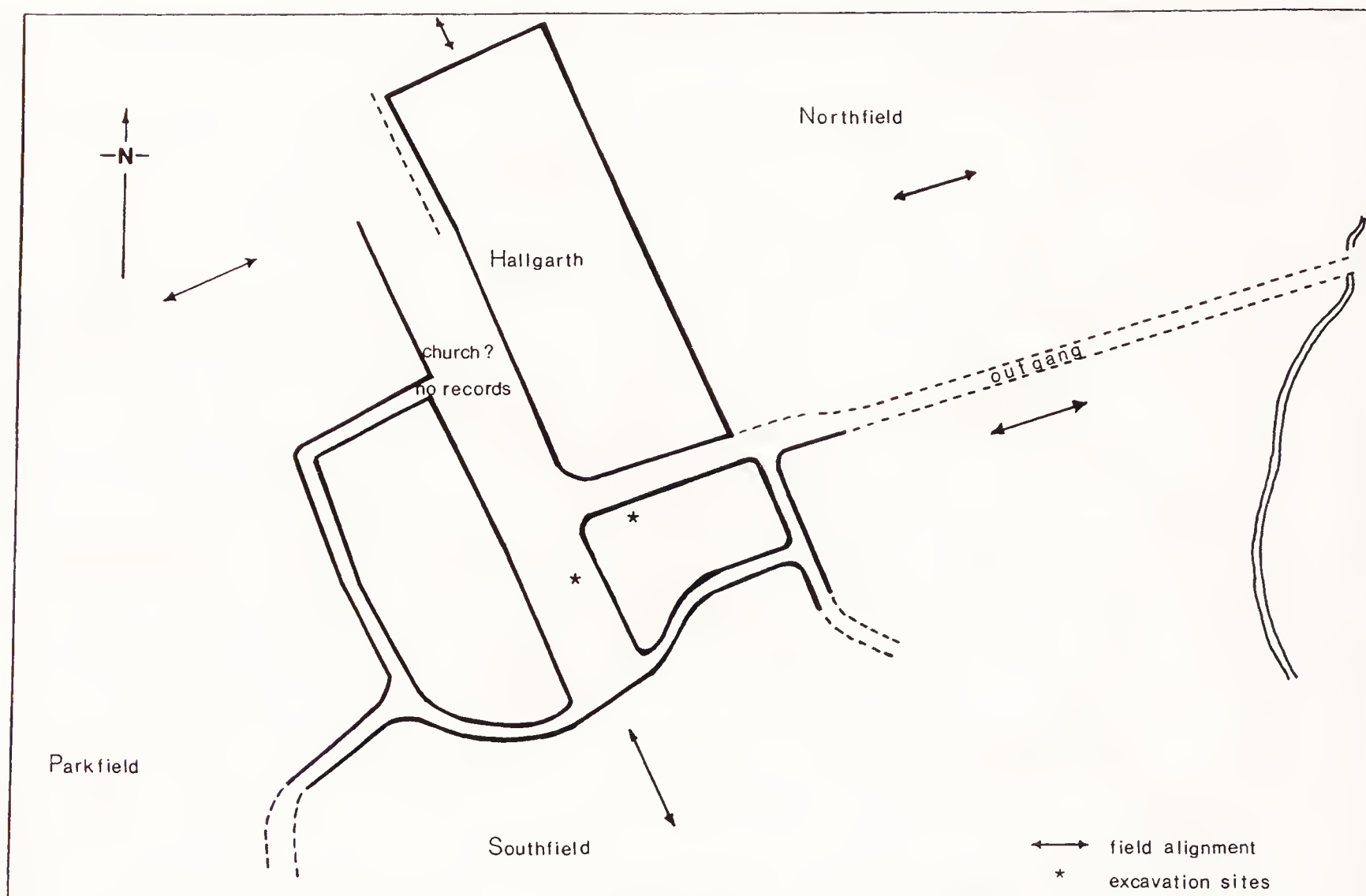


Fig. 3. Extrapolation of Skelton village in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Asterisks denote areas of excavation.

two parts, and this division persisted at least until 1844.⁸ On the north and west sides is an L-shaped piece of land of 2 r. 20 p., which had been taken out of the village green and made over to the Place family in 1807. On the east is a rectangular field, called Knapton's Garth in the 1742 survey of Skelton, of 1 a. 0 r. 4 p.⁹ In 1742 this garth was rented from Montague Brooke (a descendant of the family which had acquired much land in Skelton in 1654) in two equal halves by the two William Knaptons, father and son.¹⁰ They then lived in two cottages on the north-west side of the green, so they did not then inhabit the garth. Both William Knaptons died in the early 1750s according to the parish registers.¹¹ The will of the younger William Knapton (1753) shows that he was a tenant farmer, owing rent to his landlord when he died.¹² The 1742 survey divides Knapton's Garth into three parts — Robinson's Front (2 r. 1 p.) Wheatley's Front (29 r. 1 p.) and Hailton's Front (7 r. 1 p.) — showing that the garth had, within living memory, comprised three tofts and crofts. The Robinsons are recorded in the parish register from 1680 to 1798 (two baptisms), the Wheatleys from 1673 to 1780 (two burials) and the Hailtons not at all.¹³

The north boundary of Orchard Field is a quickset hedge which was stipulated in the 1806 Enclosure Act; it also required a ditch which no longer survives. The Act demanded

⁸. Tracing from a rough plan of an estate in Skelton belonging to Thomas Place, esq, 1844, Borthwick Institute, PL 106/8.

⁹. 40 perches = 1 rood, 4 roods = 1 acre. A (square) perch was 30¼ square yards.

¹⁰. Borthwick Institute, PL 104.

¹¹. Borthwick Institute, Skelton parish registers, PR SKE 3.

¹². Borthwick Institute, will of William Knapton the younger of Skelton, PCY May 1753.

¹³. Borthwick Institute, PR SKE 2-4.

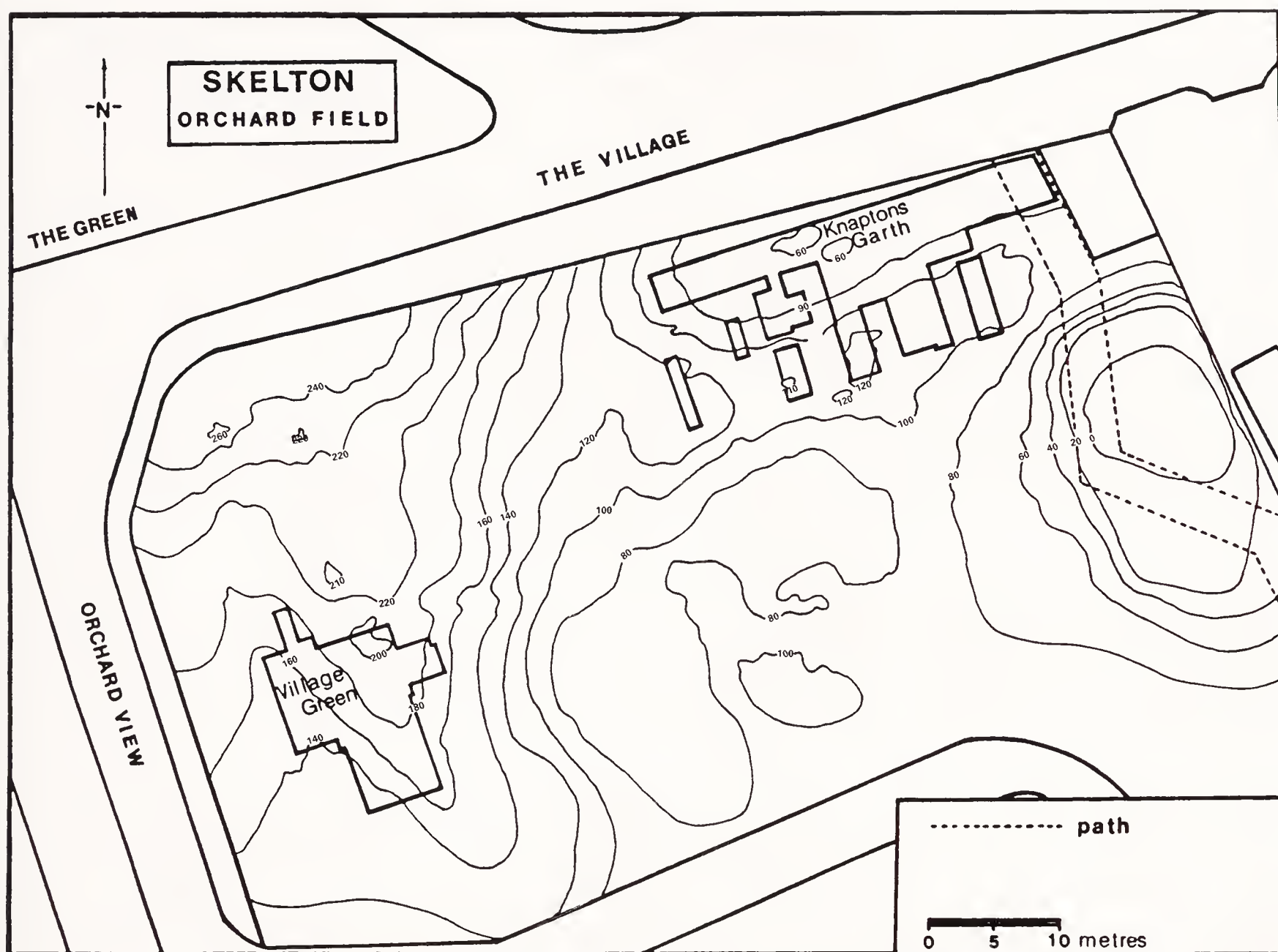


Fig. 4. Orchard Field showing contours and excavation sites.

a hedge and ditch on the western boundary, but neither of these survive, having presumably disappeared when this boundary was moved some 5 m eastward between 1807 and 1844.¹⁴ The eastern boundary is now a public path leading south from the east end of the quickset hedge, but it was originally marked by a bank, now just within the Old Rectory garden to the east, 70 m long, 3.3 m wide and 0.35 m high. The bank stops on the south at the back lane, which ran along the south side of Knapton's Garth and is now barely visible. In the western part of Orchard Field, the southern boundary is shown in 1807 as a row of cottages, but this boundary has now moved northward to the north side of a modern access road. The boundary separating the two parts of Orchard Field can still be seen as a bank running north to south across the centre of the field.

EXCAVATIONS IN ORCHARD FIELD

THE EASTERN AREA

Features

Seven trenches were trowelled to the natural clay in the north-eastern part of the field, as shown in Figure 5. Some lay within Knapton's Garth, others in the lower area which, prior to 1807, had been in the southern part of the Outgang. Comparatively few structural features were discovered.

¹⁴. Borthwick Institute, PL 106/8.

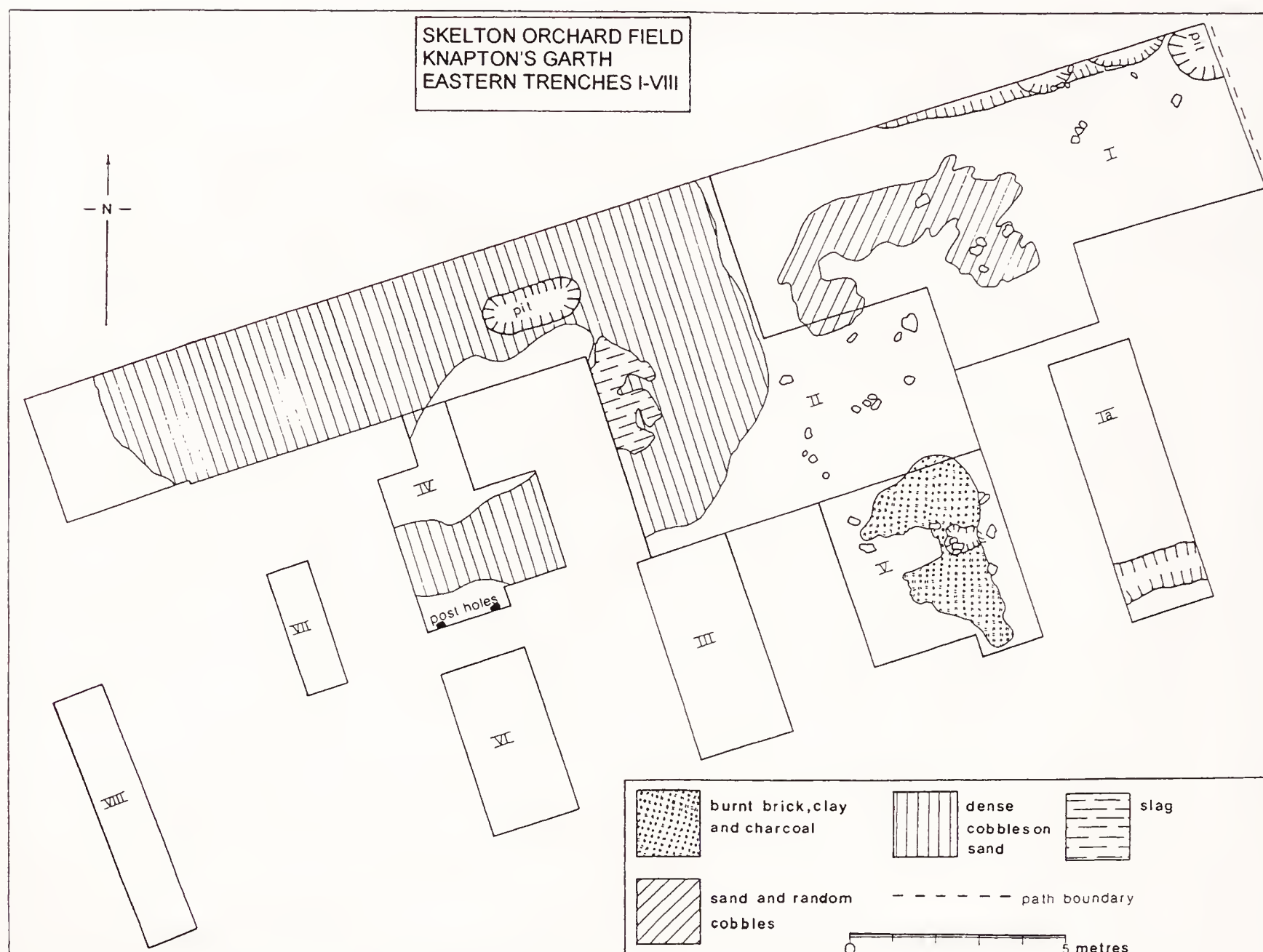


Fig. 5. Excavation trenches in the eastern part of Orchard Field (Knapton's Garth).

Trench 1

There was a shallow ditch along the north side of the trench, a pit in the north-east corner and also one post hole on the edge of the ditch. An area of scattered stone (6 m x 2.75 m) on the western end indicated a regular structure. There were several stone blocks scattered at random, possibly indicating a good-quality building. The finds were daub and a small piece of plaster which resembled Roman plaster more than medieval, and a small Roman pottery sherd. As there was no medieval pottery, and because this site lay to the north of the medieval buildings of Knapton's Garth, the fragmentary remains cannot be reliably dated.

Trench 2

This extended westward from Trench 1. The top soil layer 280 mm deep contained only nineteenth- and twentieth-century artefacts. Below this was a layer of sand with many isolated cobbles in it, which ran underneath the 1807 boundary, its southern edge being almost parallel to the hedge, tending to converge with it at the western end. Below this was a 600-mm layer of earth which contained no finds, and below this again was a 100-mm layer of settlement debris (brick, tiles, daub, pottery of eleventh- to eighteenth-century dates, clay pipes and other finds), lying on a cobbled pavement set in natural clay. The cobbles varied in size, and there were discrete areas of different sized cobbles, probably indicating piecemeal construction with stones from different sources, gathered

from fields or from the River Ouse one mile away. Some patching had also taken place. A rectangular pit (2.3 m long by 1 m wide and 0.5 m deep) had been left in the cobbling, possibly a trough for animals as it was straight-sided and gave the impression of having been lined with wood. The remains of cobbling can be seen in the sunken roadways around the village green, and it is likely that the excavated cobbled area was part of the overall cobbled surface of the centre of the village in the medieval period. The layers above the cobbles then represent a levelling of the field, which could not have taken place prior to 1807 because the cobbles lay on the Outgang. The layers above the cobbling consisted of 100 mm of debris from the houses thrown northward from Knapton's Garth, an accumulation of earth above this deposit and a layer of sand and cobbles thrown southward from digging the enclosure ditch on the Outgang, making in all a depth of 0.6 m.

The enclosure hedge was planted above these layers; 280 mm of soil then accumulated on this relatively low area of field, containing only nineteenth- and twentieth-century material.

Trench 3

This was a north-south traverse from Trench 2 to investigate the higher ground south of the cobbling. At the south end was a clean, well-cut ditch 0.4 m wide and 0.4 m deep running east-west. There were three pieces of Cistercian ware (sixteenth-century) on the ditch bottom.

Trench 4

This also explored the ridge to the south of the cobbled area of Trench 2. There was a band of cobbles 1.5 m wide running east-west across the trench, a path or passage way, and two post holes, probably indicating a destroyed building.

Trench 5

This trench contained the baked clay foundations of a U-shaped oven 3 m by 1 m. It was overlain by daub, of which the larger pieces had a smooth concave finish, indicating that they had formed part of a domed structure. Overlying the debris were large pieces of charred, poorly grown oak, probably the remains of a roof. There was a jar of mummified hazel nuts to the north of the oven, but no other finds. Baking ovens are frequently found on medieval domestic tofts, and as some of the daub had imprints of barley grains, it was probably also used for malting. This was possibly the communal oven for these three crofts.

Trenches 6, 7 and 8

These were trial trenches dug on the top of the ridge to search for structures. No features or finds were discovered.

Pottery

The finds from this area were in two horizontal layers: (1) sherds lying directly on the lowest layer of cobbles and (2) sherds above the scattered cobbled layer which was formed when the boundary ditch was dug during the post-1806 enclosure of the field.

There were eight very weathered Roman sherds from the site, which might well have survived in the early ploughed fields. A very thin scatter of Roman pottery can be found in all fields surrounding the village. The only other pottery pre-dating the Norman period was one sherd of York ware (tenth-century). There was no pre-Torksey or Stamford ware. In the 100-mm layer above the cobbled layer there was much building debris (tile, daub,

brick, etc.) and sherds ranging from Northern Gritty ware continuously through to the eighteenth century. In the soil above the upper cobbles there was only nineteenth- and twentieth-century material.

The pottery found in the lower layer from the eastern section is summarised in Figure 6. It is unstratified and was deposited when the house platforms were demolished during the levelling and enclosure of the field in the post-1806 landscaping. The earliest pottery found in quantity was the Northern Gritty ware, kitchen pottery which spans the Norman Conquest. It was accompanied by several types of Splashed ware, which is table pottery, complementary to the Gritty ware. As the Splashed ware post-dates the Conquest, the

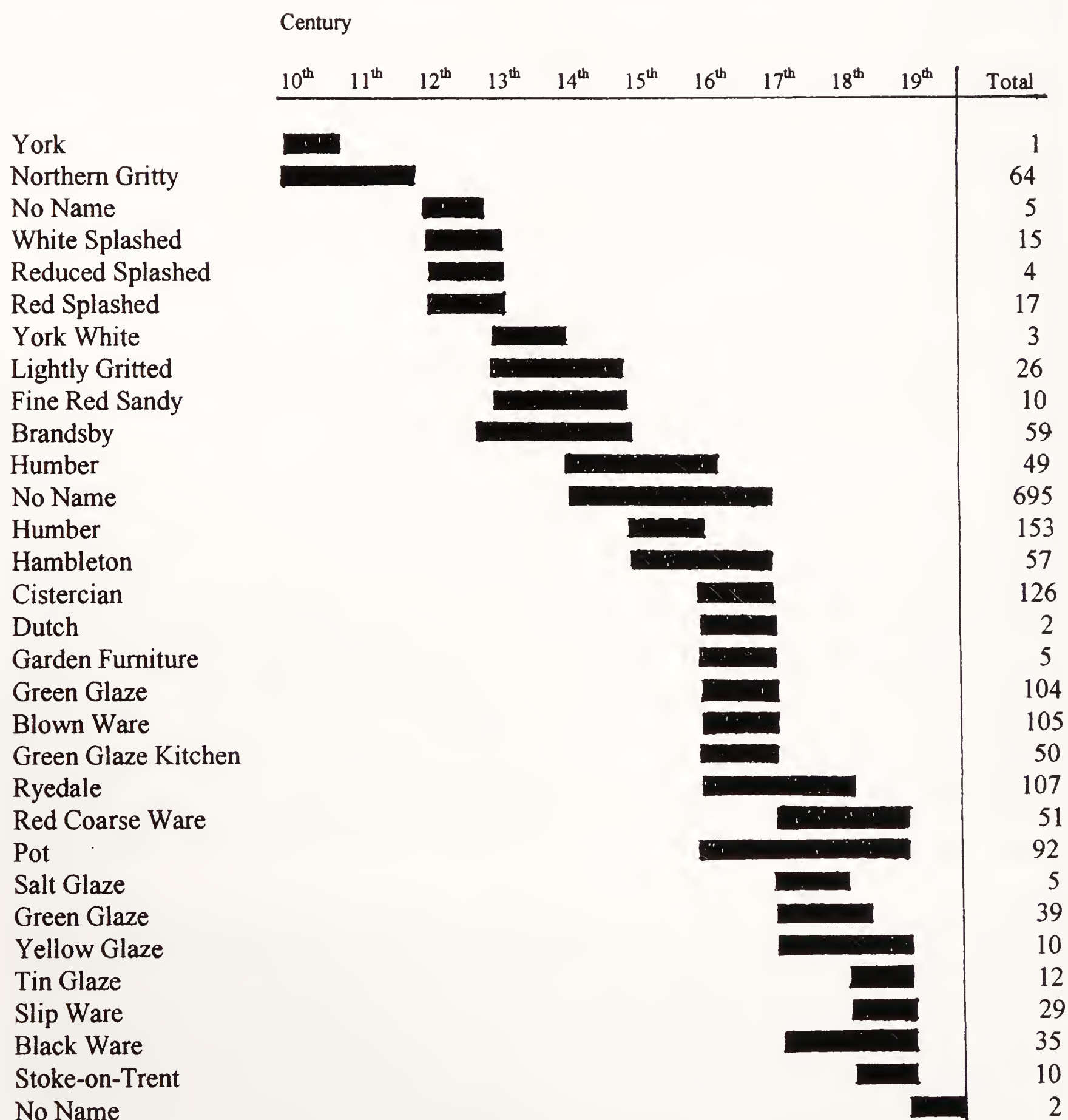


Fig. 6. Pottery finds and analysis from Knapton's Garth, Orchard Field, Skelton.

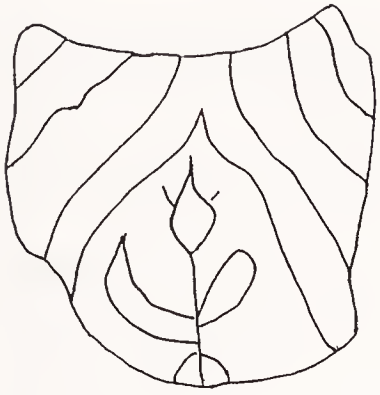


Fig. 7. Decorated floor tile. Scale 1:4.

site seems to have been inhabited only from the Norman period onward, and this is confirmed by the absence of pre-Conquest Stamford and Torksey ware.

The number of sherds continues at high levels until about 1700, but this probably indicates that the site was abandoned gradually, or was used for agriculture. This is in agreement with the recorded facts of the 1742 survey.¹⁵ The site had by that date been abandoned. Knapton's Garth was then rented equally to the William Knaptons, father and son, who lived elsewhere in the village. The 1742 survey records that within then living memory there had been three fronts. A date for the abandonment of *c.* 1700 is a reasonable estimate. Quite possibly, the houses were abandoned one by one, which would account for the steady decline in sherd numbers, rather than an abrupt termination. Most of the later (seventeenth- and eighteenth-century) pottery comes from the western end of Trench 2.

There are twenty-eight types of pottery used between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries, compared with thirteen at Rievaulx Abbey,¹⁶ with common types of York, Brandsby, Hambleton, Humber, Cistercian and Ryedale ware. The very high percentage of Brandsby, Hambleton and Ryedale ware at Rievaulx suggests bulk buying or standing supply arrangements. The wide variety at Skelton suggests sporadic purchases in the market at York.

Conclusions

The eastern side of Orchard Field contains the remains of three tofts on the west side of a toft compartment which faced the Outgang. This site was inhabited continuously from the late eleventh or twelfth century until about 1700. It was then abandoned, probably one croft at a time, until by 1742 it was being used by two tenant farmers who lived elsewhere. In 1807 Knapton's Garth and a piece of the Outgang on the north of it were awarded to Edward Place. He levelled the house platforms, pushing the debris on to the cobbles of the Outgang. The field was enclosed by a ditch and a hedge, as stipulated in the Enclosure Act. It was used as an orchard and for grazing until the present time.

The finds dating from the eleventh to the eighteenth century are consistent with domestic and farming activities. Small quantities of high quality glass, pottery and ornamental floor tiles (Fig. 7) show a degree of prosperity above subsistence level, but are not to be taken as showing a social level above that of a tenant farmer.

THE WESTERN AREA

Features

The second area of excavation was situated in the west part of Orchard Field. This area was village green until it was acquired by the Place family at the land enclosure.

¹⁵ Borthwick Institute, PL 104.

¹⁶ B. G. Drummond, 'Pottery from Rievaulx Abbey', *IAJ*, 60 (1988), pp. 31–46.

The whole excavation was dug as one large open area, all the features being 500–600 mm below the topsoil. No further occupation was discovered. The whole area appeared to have been used for only a short period of the green's history.

There were two types of features in use here: a series of buildings and a group of pits. All the features were covered by a natural build-up of soil.

The earliest building was 2.5 by 6 m, having straight walls and rounded corners as shown by the foundation trenches (Fig. 8). There was at least one rebuild of this structure, enlarging it further south across the field. Evidence for this was found very clearly in the foundation trenches on the north side. The later building was seen as a fairly wide shallow trench with complete tree trunks placed in it to act as the base for the cob wall. Nothing remained of the inside of the tree trunk other than a powdery brown mass, but the bark remained fairly well intact. Unfortunately it was not possible to identify the species from the bark. This foundation trench was immediately over the primary cut; only a thin layer of cobbles divided the two phases. Phase one was cut in the natural clay, and had been constructed with well-cut straight sides and base. The wood used for the sill to hold the cob wall must have been trimmed to fit the trench.

In the bottom of this trench were two pad stones, one of which was broken. It is possible that they were from an earlier building and originally used to support doorposts, but no evidence was found to substantiate this. Both stones were removed; they had been set into the natural clay. Under the east pad stone was found the remains of a vessel made of grey metal with 6-mm-thick walls, the base measuring 100 mm across. The base

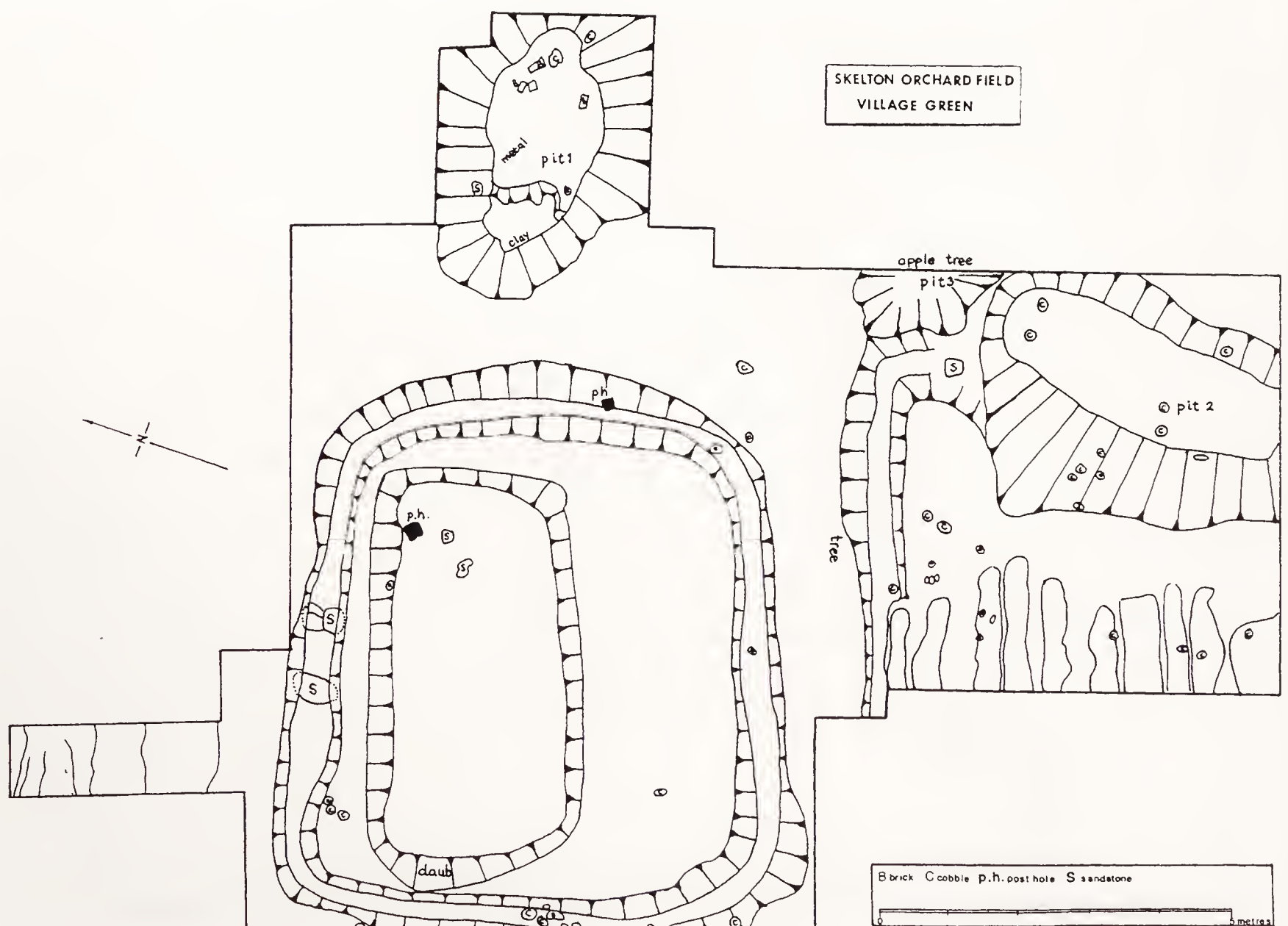


Fig. 8. Excavation trenches in the western part of Orchard Field (village green) showing layout of buildings and pits.

and part of the wall were well preserved, where the inside of the upturned vessel had not been in contact with the soil. We took the metal to be pewter. None of the straight sides of the vessel was complete so no assessment of height can be made, though in places it was 140 mm high.

The remaining foundation trenches were not so clearly defined and sharp. Had they been left exposed even for two or three weeks at some point in time, this would be the result, as the clay on which the village is built very soon erodes. No remains of wooden sill beams were found in any of these trenches. It is possible that the wood was removed, perhaps for another purpose, which would explain the exposure of the trench to the elements.

During the life of building 1 a floor of earth and very small stones had been laid both inside and outside and towards pit 1 which lies to the east.

Phase two of the building could be clearly seen cutting through the floor of phase one. The trenches belonging to this second phase were much wider and dug with a more rounded cross-section. In no part did they appear to have been constructed with as much care as the earlier buildings. Building 1 enclosed an area of 6.5 by 6.75 m. Phase two is not complete so no size can be given. Neither building showed any trace of a hearth having been made or used within the walls. There was what appeared to be some daub mixed with the clay and cobbles on the west side of the structure where the wall had collapsed over the foundation trench.

It will be noticed that there are two post holes evident in Figure 8. There is not enough evidence to be able to put any meaning to these. Neither was it possible to ascertain their age or time-span of use.

The second set of features in this area were two pits, with a third just showing in the eastern trench side. In no way was it possible to excavate pit 3 as a large apple tree was growing over the area. The position of these features can be seen in their relation to the building in Figure 8.

Pit 1 was 4 m long by 3.25 m wide and 1.75 m deep, steep-sided on three sides and oval in shape. The narrow end of this feature had a gentle slope up to the ground level from the bottom of the pit. Both the floor and slope had cobbles and brick placed randomly over them. This would have been essential if the area was to be walked on, given the nature of the natural clay here. One piece of very degraded metal was found at this level but other than to say it appeared to have been flat and 305 mm across, no description is possible. The most likely assumption is that it had been a plate.

The whole pit had been relined twice with clay. A slightly darker, more pliable soil was to be seen between the clay layers. The only remaining feature of pit 1 on the western side was a large block of clay, which filled the narrow part of the pit. It was just under 1 m square and 0.61 m high. This large block of pure clay had been put in after the pit was constructed.

The material of the pit infill was dark soil with virtually no stones, cobbles or pottery mixed with it. Where this soil came from it is not possible to say. An educated guess would be that this is part of the soil which is recorded as having been brought to the area at the time of the land enclosure.¹⁷

Pit 2 was 4 m long by 1.5 m wide and 1.75 m deep and similar to pit 1. It had not been lined, nor was the bottom of the pit cobbled. The larger cobbles that were observed there were similar to those found scattered down the eastern side of the pit. These all gave the appearance of having fallen in from a wall that had stood near the eastern edge.

¹⁷ Bootham School, 'Survey'.

There were no foundation trenches in this area, but material found towards the top of the pit could well have come from a cob wall.

No slope had been constructed on any side, but a series of gullies was excavated at the north end nearest the building. There is no evidence to suggest to what use the gullies were put. Were they designed to empty into the pit?

As with pit 1 the infill appeared to have been deposited as a unit, no stratification was found, and the soil was the same brown earth all the way through. There is no record of the source for the forty-five cartloads of soil brought in at the land enclosure, but this most probably was some of it.

To the west side of this pit there was a series of parallel raised lines in the natural clay. They were from 0.5 m to 0.75 m apart. They ran from approximately 1 m from the pit edge outwards for a distance of 2 m and extended for 5.5 m. This whole area gave the impression of having been covered by a floor of planks laid straight onto the ground. The slight remains of the cob wall at the edge of the pit would have butted up to this feature. It would seem that this area had been another building. The possibility of the floor being planked cannot be proved, as no wood remained except in one small area where there was a thin deposit of a browner colour, but it was too transient for any analysis.

Conclusions

The series of buildings found on the village green shows a progression of structures that indicates a fairly long time-span of use. The daub found at the eastern side of the earliest construction would indicate it was of late medieval origin. The pipe bowl found in the foundation trench of the last building was of the seventeenth century in date.

The earth and small-cobble floor that was laid over the earliest buildings butted up to the last construction as well as pit 1. It appeared that this floor was in use during the last phase of activity in this area.

There is no way of dating the three pits as the infill was clean soil. No deposits were found at the bottom of the excavated pits. The buildings do not appear to have been used for domestic purposes, as no hearth or occupational debris was found. The pits were more problematical.

Similar pits found by other excavators have as far as we can ascertain never been ascribed a specific use. Routine village activities were usually too commonplace to be recorded. Lack of physical and documented evidence renders it impossible to draw any definite conclusions as to the activities on this part of the green between the late medieval period and the eighteenth century.

Some hundred years ago part of the green became an orchard; three old and gnarled fruit trees still give witness to this. Evidence of ploughing was uncovered in a small area. There are records of the green being used for food production during the last war. The plough marks found were about 135 mm below the surface, indicating that they were associated with this late period.

Although we have been unable to date this area of activity in the village, the group hope that our findings will help towards further understanding of village life and that our work at Skelton may also be a step in the right direction of understanding the interaction between village and town.

FINDS

Glass

The fragments of glass illustrated in Figure 9 are all that were found of this type. Viewed with the better quality potsherds which were also found, they help to show that this area of the village was occupied by yeomen with a fairly high standard of living.

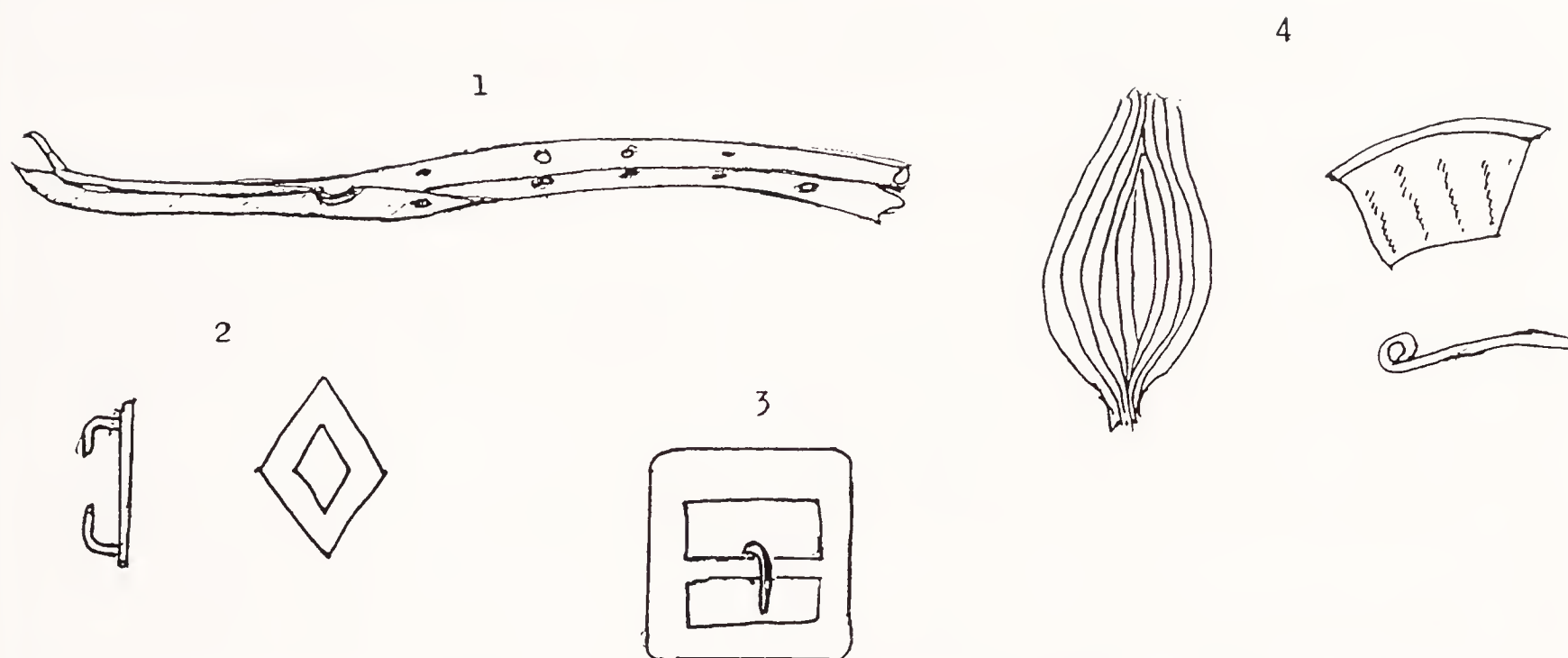


Fig. 9. Finds from Knapton's Garth. 1. Unidentified metal object. 2. Metal decoration. 3. Buckle. 4. Fragments of table glass. Scale: (1) 1:6; (2-4) 3:4.

Two pieces of window glass were also found, with a small strip of window leading. Pieces of a dark green bottle were excavated, of a type imported in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All these finds came from the Knapton's Garth area. No glass was found in the western trench.

Metal

The York Archaeological Trust has been unable to put a use to the object illustrated in Figure 9(1). It is made of soft metal, possibly lead, with the holes showing some wear. It is similar in construction to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century type of window stay.

Two small buckles were found in the cobbles of the eastern trench (Fig. 9). Other objects were two knife blades of degraded metal.

Again no metal other than the corroded flat piece mentioned in the text was found in the western excavation.

Bone

A reasonable quantity of bone was uncovered. Unfortunately a large amount was too degraded and broken to be recognised as specific bones, though animal typing was possible. Of recognisable bones the analysis is as follows: four fallow deer, introduced to this country in the late eighteenth century, one dog, fifty-seven pieces of horse, sixty-five cow with the bones from a calf, thirty-three sheep, three goat and eight pig.

What small amount of bone was found in the western area was too degraded to be analysed with accuracy.

Coins and trade token

Two George II halfpennies were found in the village green area of excavation. These were worn copper showing Johann Crocker's young bust portrait on the obverse side with the inscription GEORGIUS II REX. On the reverse side is Britannia with the inscription BRITANNIA.

A trade token from Wirksworth in Derbyshire was among the finds from Knapton's Garth. This was issued by Peter Colborne, who was assessed for one hearth

in 1670. The obverse side has his initials and the reverse side shows him to have been a mercer.¹⁸

Brick and tile from the Village Green

Only a small assemblage of brick and tile was found during the second excavation at Skelton.

Brick and peg tile dating from the fourteenth century or a little later were found in the lower contexts. The assemblage had both plain and peg tiles, peg tile being used from the thirteenth century onward. Tile examples from these levels were similar to medieval fabrics found in the City of York.

The bricks were fragmentary, making dating difficult. Some pieces were narrow enough to be medieval in date, but available width measurements were not convincing. Brick making was always a localised industry, so size is not always a good guide to age, although from the fourteenth century onwards bricks are regularly found in York contexts.

Pantile is a common find in this area of excavation, having been in use from the seventeenth century onward. The date ties in with those of the pipe and potsherds coming from the later buildings.

A small amount of daub was also found in the area of building 1. All the pieces found came from near the foundation trenches, strongly indicating that daub walls were used, at least in the primary buildings.

Field drain fragments dating from the nineteenth century were common from the most central area of excavation. These could have been laid at the time the field was planted as an orchard during the nineteenth century. A large fragment of what appears to be a glass-mixing crucible was also found within the same area of excavation. It is unlikely to be medieval. Without further research it is impossible to be more precise.

Clay Pipes

The excavated area of Knapton's Garth produced 112 fragments of pipe, mostly seventeenth and nineteenth century in date.

The pipes are of average to poor quality. All appear to have been smoked. Few were burnished, only eight out of the 112 pieces excavated. Most had minimal milling around the bowl. All appear to be of local types, with no obvious imports, either from centres further away in Britain, or Holland.

There has been little study in the Yorkshire region of socio-economic variables such as those within the pipe market, so the impression given is of inferior products.

The village green excavation produced thirty-eight fragments of clay pipes, most of which were dated from the nineteenth century. Again all were of average to poor quality, and all appear to have been smoked.

A single spurred example from Knapton's Garth may date from 1610. One finely executed heel stamp bearing the letters B.C. may be an early seventeenth-century London product as a number of similar examples have been found in London and Chester, where they are thought to be of metropolitan origin.

All the seventeenth-century forms seem to conform well to the York typology.

The Skelton finds form a small but useful addition to knowledge of both seventeenth-century and nineteenth-century pipe consumption in the York area. Whilst the excavated

¹⁸. *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-70*, ed. David G. Edwards, Derbyshire Record Society, 7 (1982), p. 191; William Boyne, *Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales and Ireland by Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, etc.* (London, 1858), p. 47.

groups were neither large enough, nor sufficiently close, to allow confident generalisations to be made, a number of individually important fragments were recovered.¹⁹

CROOKING POND EXCAVATION

The York Excavation Group was asked to do an excavation on the Crooking Pond, before the village made a decision on the area.

Most research had been done before in connection with the previous excavations in the village. Little was known about the Outgang area, other than it was the route used for the cattle in and out of the village. The area of the pinfold is known to have been situated on the opposite side of the road to the pond. There is a photograph in existence of the pond before it was filled in, but unfortunately a background of trees does not help to give the pond an exact location.

Prior to the excavation we did four trial bore holes. These produced black loam with a decomposed vegetable layer some 20 mm below the surface in the area we were to excavate: the area where the pond was known to have been, on the north side of the Outgang, going out of the village (see Figs 1 and 2). The crofts and tofts lay on the opposite side of the road, and about 91.4 m nearer the village. The exact date when the pond was filled in is not known. The area is now a grassed area encircled by trees and bordering the Outgang road.

The tree line gives an indication of the pond's previous location, but there is no physical or written indication as to how close to the road it was situated. This was the cattle watering place, so it had to be on the road edge, but has the road moved or widened over the years? Due to the quality of the local soil one would imagine that there was a cobbled area for the cattle to walk on, as there was elsewhere in the village, wherever people walked.

The old photograph of the Crooking Pond shows part of the pond side shored up by wooden beams. It was our hope that we might find the remains of these, and the cobble stones.

The soil samples we took from the pre-excavation borings were only infill and clear of all finds. We could only assume that the samples taken from the centre of the area within the vegetation layer were perhaps the bottom of a silted-up pond.

The excavation was scheduled for six weeks in the summer of 1999. The group supplied the tools, knowledge and leadership. A good number of villagers came and helped. We invited the Young Archaeologists to take part, which they did with great enthusiasm.

The first trench was made as near to the road as was safe, to try to ascertain the position of the end of the pond. The exact location of the trench was to a great extent dictated by the presence of a large concrete platform just below the surface of the soil, which had been for the use of the Gas Board as a working platform.

There was also a drainage pipe cutting through the excavation area. At one point some clay round a joint was dislodged, and the trench promptly filled with water. We had the added problem of a mains cable buried on the site.

Over the six weeks the trench was extended towards the trees and further along the road line. In total an area of approximately 9 m x 5.75 m was looked at.

Surprisingly little was found during the six weeks. Usually people throw unwanted objects into ponds. We had a good collection of modern rubbish, including stiletto-heeled shoes. Below the top area there was very little, and what environmental evidence we found was looked at by the Environmental Archaeology Unit. There was only one snail

¹⁹. A fuller analysis of the clay pipe finds is available from the writer of this article.

shell, a common mollusc found in damp places. The wood fragments were too small to identify. Cables were seen at a depth of 0.65 m, only briefly, as even filled-in ponds tend to act like any other pond. The water made any deeper exploration impossible.

We are unable to say much about the area, other than to confirm that this area has at one time been a pond. We had water seepage at a depth of 0.4 m which prevented us from looking at the bottom of the natural pond. It would have been rewarding to have found evidence of the wooden revetment, as it was probably the last of a progression of revetments on the south side of the pond.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

York Excavation Group would like to thank Skelton Trust for allowing us to excavate Orchard Field and for their donation towards the cost of producing this article.

We would like to note formally that all the historical research that has been written up in this article was done by the late Dr Don Spratt. It was he who invited the Group to carry out the excavation. We owe much to his interest and enthusiasm for our work in his village.

Our thanks also go to Sarah Jennings, Steve Moorhouse for work on the pottery finds, Dr Peter Davey of Liverpool University for work on clay pipes, Susie White for pipe drawings, Sandra Garside Neville for brick and tile, all members of York Excavation Group for their individual skills and help, the York Archaeological Trust for their interest in our work and the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for their donation.

We would also like to thank those who thought us worthy of receiving the Thebron Award for our work on Skelton.

The Council of the Society is grateful to the York Excavation Group for a grant in support of the publication of this article.

THE BRUSES OF SKELTON AND WILLIAM OF AUMALE¹

By Ruth M. Blakely

In 1143, during the reign of Stephen, the Yorkshire barony of the de Brus family, which was centred on Skelton in Cleveland and held of the king in chief for fifteen knights' fees, passed to a minor, Adam de Brus II. As Adam was still under age in 1156, and possibly until 1160, he was clearly very young when his father died and therefore in an extremely vulnerable position at a time of such unrest.² Although the boy might well have found support from the Earl of Richmond, with whom the Bruses were connected by marriage,³ or the Earl of Chester of whom they held several manors in Cleveland,⁴ it was in fact the rival of these two magnates, William 'le Gros', Count of Aumale and Lord of Holderness, who obtained control of the young heir and his inheritance. The ease with which William of Aumale was able to exert his influence over the heir has been the subject of some speculation. Dalton, in particular, raises the question of why custody of the young heir had not rather been granted to his mother, as might have been expected in accordance with the terms of Henry I's coronation charter.⁵

In order to answer this question, another first needs to be asked. Who *was* the mother of Adam de Brus II? The most commonly accepted theory, to which Dalton subscribed, is that she was Juetta de Arches, daughter and heiress of William de Arches who held seven fees in the West Riding of the honour of Mowbray. Dugdale certainly named Juetta as the wife of Adam's father, Adam de Brus I, in his *Baronage of England*, citing as evidence an entry in the first edition of his *Monasticon Anglicanum* taken from the chartulary of Nostell Priory.⁶ This is a mandate of Pope Innocent III relating to a complaint from the canons of St Oswald, Nostell, over a tithe of bread, originally granted by Juetta's father, which Juetta had apparently withdrawn. She subsequently regranted a portion of it to the cell of Nostell at Skewkirk for the souls of, among others, her husbands R[oger] de Flamville and A[dam] de Brus.⁷ The mandate is dated 1206, which was after the deaths of both Adams I and II as well as Roger de Flamville. It is not apparent from this record which of the two Adams is signified. Nor are their wives named in any of the other

¹ This article has arisen from research I have undertaken on the Brus families of Yorkshire and Annandale during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the preparation of a doctoral thesis for the University of Durham.

² John of Hexham, 'Continuation of Simeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*', in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 75 (1882–85), II, p. 315; *Pipe Roll 2 Henry II* (Record Commission, 1844), p. 27.

³ A daughter of Robert de Brus I had married Ralph fitz Ribald, lord of Middleham, a major tenant and kinsman of the earl of Richmond. See *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II, ed. William Farrer, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Extra Series, 2 (1915), no. 650 (hereafter cited as *ETC*); *ETC*, v, ed. Charles Travis Clay (1936), pp. 299–300.

⁴ *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II*, p. 90.

⁵ Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066–1154* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 180, 230. Henry's charter stated that custody of a minor was to be given to the widow or one of her relations, whichever was more just. *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, ed. William Stubbs, 9th edn (Oxford, 1913), p. 118.

⁶ William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, I (London, 1675), p. 448.

⁷ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1st edn, II, ed. Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale (London, 1673), p. 43. Also printed in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edn, 6 vols in 8, ed. William Dugdale (London, 1817–30), VI, pp. 102–03, and *ETC*, I, no. 555.

sources which Dugdale cites, including that of the Guisborough 'Founder's History' from which he derived much of his material on the early Bruses.⁸ His reasons for naming Adam I rather than Adam II as Juetta's husband are therefore obscure. Despite this ambiguity, the identification was accepted by William Farrer and subsequent writers, such as Wormald, Greenway and Clay, although some of them, like Dalton, have noted inconsistencies arising from it.⁹

One writer, however, found evidence which caused him to reach a different conclusion. William Brown, in an article predating Farrer's volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters*, cited records in the chartulary of Healaugh Park Priory which suggest that Juetta was the wife of Adam de Brus II.¹⁰ In this paper I am setting out to re-examine the evidence in an attempt to determine which of them is right. In so doing I hope to clarify a number of the other problems which have been raised in connection with the wives of both Adam de Brus I and Adam II, as well as providing an explanation for Aumale's influence over the family.

The first occasion on which William of Aumale and a Brus Lord of Skelton appear together in the records is at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, when the English and Scottish armies confronted one another on Cowton Moor near Northallerton. In his account of the battle, Ailred of Rievaulx describes in dramatic fashion how Robert de Brus, Lord of Skelton in Cleveland and of Annandale in south-west Scotland, pleaded at great length with King David I to withdraw his invading forces. Although de Brus was not the only baron whose loyalties were divided by the threatened conflict, he was the first to have been a major tenant-in-chief in both kingdoms. This position had been placed in jeopardy by the death of King Henry I and the accession of Stephen, whom Robert, along with the majority of English barons, had accepted as king while David of Scotland chose to support Matilda. Of all the northern barons, therefore, Robert de Brus was the one best-placed to act as mediator. When his attempt failed and he was forced to make a choice, he 'broke his chain of fealty' to King David and returned to take his place in the English army, where his elder son, Adam I, fought beside him, while the younger, Robert II, fought on the Scottish side.¹¹

Among the leaders of the English army, and taking precedence in the list of northern barons who supported Archbishop Thurstan in the enterprise, was William, Count of Aumale and Lord of Holderness, whose subsequent elevation to power in Yorkshire through his creation as Earl of York by King Stephen was to threaten the survival of the Brus barony in Yorkshire.¹² The far-reaching authority vested in the Earl, and his abuse of that authority for his own ends, prompted William of Newburgh to depict him as 'more truly the king beyond the Humber' than King Stephen.¹³ Dalton, who has made an extensive study of the situation in Yorkshire at this time, describes Earl William as an

⁸ The *Fundatorum Historia* was taken from a parchment roll 'formerly at Pontefract castle' but now known only from the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1st edn, II, pp. 148-49; *ibid.*, new edn, VI, p. 267. It contains several stories of the Brus family unrecorded elsewhere, but is unreliable on some aspects, especially dates of death.

⁹ *ETC*, I, p. 415; *ETC*, II, pp. 12, 15; F. Wormald, 'Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory', *YAJ*, 31 (1934), p. 31; *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191*, ed. D. E. Greenway, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 1 (London, 1972), p. xxxix; *Early Yorkshire Families*, ed. Charles Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 135 (1973), pp. 2, 8 n. 4, 29.

¹⁰ Wm. Brown, 'The Brus Cenotaph at Guisborough', *YAJ*, 13 (1895), p. 245.

¹¹ Ailred of Rievaulx, 'Relatio de Standardo', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols, Rolls Series, 82 (1884-89), III, pp. 182-83, 192-95; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edn, VI, p. 267.

¹² Ailred, in *Chronicles of the Reigns*, III, pp. 182-83; John of Hexham, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 295; Richard of Hexham, 'Historia de Gestis Regis Stephani', in *Chronicles of the Reigns*, III, p. 165.

¹³ William of Newburgh, 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum', in *Chronicles of the Reigns*, I, p. 103.

‘acquisitive and aggressive magnate’ and cites examples of several lesser barons besides the Bruses who fell prey to his ambitions.¹⁴

At the time of the Battle of the Standard, Robert de Brus is described by Ailred as ‘aged’ and ‘grave’ and must have been nearing seventy years of age, having been established in much of his Yorkshire barony by Henry I before 1103 when he was already high in favour with the king.¹⁵ His initial grant of lands, which was entered as a late addition to the Yorkshire Domesday, comprised more than one hundred manors in some ninety-eight vills and was spread across the three Ridings.¹⁶ By 1120, however, Robert had obtained additional estates in the North Riding, from the former honour of the counts of Mortain and by subenfeoffment from the Earl of Chester. These concentrated his power in Cleveland and, despite the presence of other powerful families in the region, established Robert de Brus as the dominant baron in the Langbaugh wapentake.¹⁷ He effectively controlled the south bank of the River Tees from Hornby, some seven miles above Yarm, to the sea, and held much of the coast-line running south from its estuary as far as Runswick Bay. His inland holdings included Eskdale, which gave him authority over most of the northern flank of the Cleveland hills, and the majority of the manors which lay between those hills and the valley of the Tees. So from the distinctive height of Roseberry Topping (then called Osenburgh) Robert de Brus was lord of almost all that the eye can see. The initial Brus *caput* is thought to have been sited at Castleton, near Danby in Eskdale, but was soon transferred to the more accessible manor of Skelton, formerly held by Richard de Surdeval of the count of Mortain.¹⁸ In addition, King Henry had extended the area of Robert’s authority to the lands immediately north of the Tees, into the district of Hartness. Robert thereby became responsible for the defence of the whole estuary of the Tees, together with a further stretch of coast, including the sandy beaches and bay of St Hilda’s Isle where Hartlepool was later established.¹⁹ His Scottish estates came to him as a result of his commission to accompany the future King David I into Scotland, sometime after 1109, in order to help the young prince establish his authority in the south-west region and protect it against incursions from Galloway. For this purpose Robert was granted the lordship of Annandale by, at the latest, 1124 when David was enthroned as king and granted him a charter to that effect.²⁰

Robert survived almost four years after the English victory on Cowton Moor, dying in the spring of 1142 when the situation in the north was still unstable.²¹ He was succeeded in his Yorkshire estates by his elder son, Adam de Brus I, and in Annandale by the younger, Robert II. The lands in Hartness also passed to Robert II, to be held of his elder brother, a compromise undoubtedly dictated by the prevailing political situation, with the Scots king in control of Northumbria through his son, Earl Henry. Having taken such careful measures to ensure that the Scottish and Hartness lands, as well as those of Yorkshire, would remain in the Brus family, it was ironic that it should be the survival

¹⁴ Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 162 *et seq.*; Paul Dalton, ‘William, Earl of York and Royal Authority in Yorkshire in the Reign of Stephen’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 2 (1990), pp. 155–65.

¹⁵ Ailred, in *Chronicles of the Reigns*, III, p. 192; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, II: *Regesta Henrici Primi 1100–1135*, ed. Charles Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956), no. 648.

¹⁶ *Domesday Book 30: Yorkshire*, ed. Margaret L. Faull and Marie Stinson (Phillimore, 1986), section 31.

¹⁷ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 91–94.

¹⁸ William M. I’Anson, ‘The Castles of the North Riding’, *YAJ*, 22 (1913), p. 337.

¹⁹ *Victoria County History: Durham*, III (1928), p. 256.

²⁰ *The Charters of King David I*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow, (Woodbridge, 1999), no. 16; Judith Green, ‘Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England c. 1100–1174’, in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 95–96.

²¹ John of Hexham, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 312.

of the Yorkshire barony which came under threat when Adam de Brus I died little more than a year after his father, leaving a widow and two young sons, Adam II and William.²²

This was a providential opportunity for William of Aumale, now Earl of York. In taking charge of the young heir, by whatever means, he was able to extend his influence northwards into Cleveland where the main centre of the Brus barony lay, thus obtaining control of the wapentake of Langbaurch and an additional stretch of the Yorkshire coast. He was now better placed to confront the Earls of Richmond and of Chester, two of his main rivals for power, whose Yorkshire estates lay within or adjacent to that region.²³ Indeed, one grant by a Brus tenant which Earl William confirmed during Adam II's minority, was for land near Loftus which had come to the Bruses from the Chester honour.²⁴ The Earl even managed to retain control of the original *caput* of the Brus barony at Danby in Eskdale, with its nearby castle and associated forest region, until his own death in 1179, long after Adam had reached his majority. The manor was then repossessed by the crown. Adam was given compensation in the form of three manors in the West Riding, and Danby was only recovered for the Bruses in 1201 when Adam's son and heir, Peter de Brus I, relinquished those other manors and paid King John an additional £1000 for the privilege.²⁵

Although the major portion of the Brus barony lay in Cleveland, it included some outlying estates in other parts of Yorkshire where Earl William's influence is also evident. The large East Riding manor of Burton [Agnes] and its dependencies, which was subenfeoffed to the Stutevilles, came into the hands of the Earl's sister, Agnes, and her son, William de Roumare III.²⁶ Some estates near Pickering were obtained by the Bigod family, to be held of them by the Earl.²⁷ The manor of Tibthorpe, in the East Riding, passed inexplicably to the crown after 1154.²⁸ Even a group of manors in the Ainsty wapentake, which were seized by Roger de Mowbray, may have been victims of a deal between him and Earl William who were rivals for control of the city of York.²⁹ Besides having a free hand in the administration of the Brus barony, Earl William clearly had personal supervision of Adam himself, who witnessed at least three charters for his guardian while still a minor.³⁰ It must surely have been the Earl's influence which led the young Adam to grant the churches of Skelton, Kirklevington and Yarm away from his family's foundation of Guisborough Priory to William's foundation of Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire, a grant which Adam later rescinded.³¹

The question now arises as to how Earl William, in Dalton's words, 'acquired custody of the young heir, which belonged by right to Adam[II]'s mother, Juetta of Arches'.³² The first clue to the problem lies with Brown's statement that Juetta was not the mother,

²² John of Hexham, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 315. Adam I's younger son, William, appears in the witness list to *ETC*, II, no. 1055.

²³ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 163–67.

²⁴ *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, II, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 89 (1894), no. 872 (hereafter cited as *Guisborough Cartulary*).

²⁵ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 74; *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p. 159; *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (Record Commission, 1835), pp. 109–10; *Rotuli Chartarum 1199–1216*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (Record Commission, 1837), II, pp. 86b, 101. The Brus *caput* had been transferred to Skelton by this time.

²⁶ *ETC*, II, pp. 34–35.

²⁷ *ETC*, I, pp. 490–91.

²⁸ *Pipe Roll 13 Henry II*, p. 78; *Pipe Roll 15 Henry II*, p. 32 *et seq.*

²⁹ *Mowbray Charters*, no. 397 and note. See also Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 168–69, 242–43 for a summary of the situation.

³⁰ *ETC*, III, nos. 1334, 1373, 1379.

³¹ *ETC*, II, p. 16; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edn, VI, p. 327; *Guisborough Cartulary*, II, nos. 679, 682, 815; Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086–1260* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 24–25.

³² Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 180.

but the *wife*, of Adam II.³³ Brown bases his conclusion on the evidence of two grants made by Adam II's son, Peter de Brus I, to the canons of Healaugh Park Priory in the Arches fee. In one, Peter refers to his mother as 'Juetta', and in the other, even more specifically as Juetta de Arches, thus clearly establishing Juetta's relationship to the Brus family.³⁴ Further evidence is forthcoming in connection with Adam II's daughter, Isabella, who was married soon after 1190 to Henry de Percy, and granted the vill of Kirklevington by her father as a marriage portion. This gift was later confirmed by her brother, Peter.³⁵ In c. 1192 Juetta granted seven carucates of land from the Arches fee at Askham [Richard] to 'my daughter' (*filie mee*) Isabella de Brus and her heirs, and confirmed this by a quitclaim before the king's justices in the same words.³⁶ The aggregate of this evidence gives ample support to Brown's conclusion that Juetta was indeed the wife of the second, rather than the first Adam de Brus. Once this possibility is recognised, several problems which exercised Farrer and others begin to resolve themselves.

Juetta de Arches was daughter, and ultimately sole heir, of William de Arches who held seven knights' fees of the honour of Mowbray, principally in the Ainsty wapentake centred on the manor of Thorp Arch. In 1086 the Arches estates had been held in chief by William's father, Osbern, but they had been reduced to a mesne tenancy by Henry I and granted to the king's minister, Nigel d'Aubigny, to become part of the reconstituted Mowbray honour.³⁷ Juetta had a sister, Matilda, who became a nun and prioress of the family's foundation of Nun Monkton, thus ensuring that the family holdings would not be divided on their father's death, which occurred in c. 1154.³⁸ By then Juetta was married to Roger de Flamville, who was a close companion of Roger de Mowbray and was recorded as holding eight and a half fees of him in 1166, of which seven were those of Arches.³⁹ Juetta had a son, Hugh, and two daughters by this marriage. When Roger de Flamville died, not later than 1169, the Flamville lands passed to Hugh who seems to have been of age by then, thus dating the marriage before 1150.⁴⁰ As a widow, Juetta retained control of the Arches inheritance and had the custody of at least one of her daughters, Agnes de Flamville, who was subsequently married to a major Brus tenant, William de Percy of Kildale, and granted land in the Arches manor of Kirk Hammerton by her mother.⁴¹ Working on the assumption that Juetta was wife of Adam de Brus II rather than his father, it is clear that she could not have married him before the death of Roger de Flamville in c. 1169. This is not incompatible with the evidence. Adam II was not of age until around 1160, and it was not unusual for a young man to remain unmarried until his early thirties. A marriage after 1169 would also give ample time for Adam II's son and heir, Peter I, to have reached his majority by the time of his father's death in c. 1198.⁴²

Reassigning Roger de Flamville to the position of Juetta's first husband, however, raises the problem of why it was the Brus, rather than the Flamville heir, who inherited the

³³. Brown, *IAJ*, 13 (1895), p. 245.

³⁴. *Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory ... of the Park of Healaugh*, ed. J. S. Purvis, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 92 (1936), pp. 66–67.

³⁵. *EYC*, II, pp. 24–25.

³⁶. *EYC*, I, nos. 548, 549. Farrer interpolates [grand] before 'daughter' in the headings.

³⁷. *Domesday Book 30: Yorkshire*, section 25W; *Mowbray Charters*, pp. xxv, 15, 262; Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 87, 90. Dalton suggests that William's demotion may have been the result of his involvement in a rebellion against King Henry.

³⁸. *EYC*, I, pp. 414–15; *Mowbray Charters*, pp. 157, 230.

³⁹. *Mowbray Charters*, p. 262.

⁴⁰. *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 29–31.

⁴¹. *EYC*, II, no. 750; *Pedes Finium Ebor, Regnante Johanne, A.D. 1199–1214*, Surtees Society, 94 (1897), no. 83.

⁴². *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p. 43.

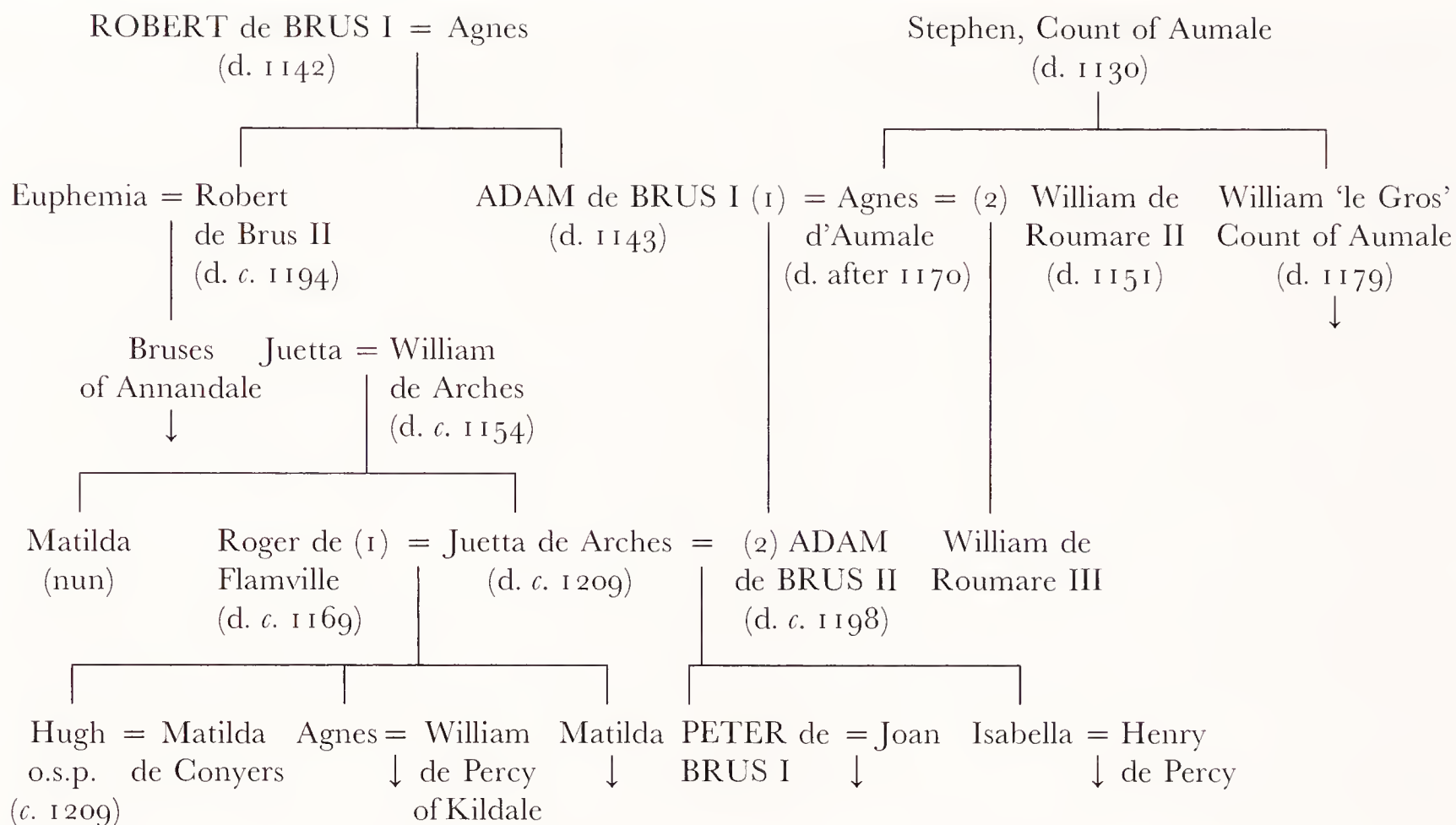


FIG. 1 The Brus Lords of Skelton and their Wives

bulk of the Arches lands. This is easily answered by the evidence that Hugh de Flamville died without issue, and the last recorded reference to him is in the pipe roll for 1209.⁴³ Since Juetta also lived until at least 1209,⁴⁴ it is highly probable that Hugh predeceased his mother. As his heirs were his sisters, it is clear that they would receive only his Flamville lands, while the Arches estates would pass to Juetta's surviving son, Peter de Brus I.⁴⁵ There is evidence, however, to suggest that Hugh came very close to inheriting the Arches lands. In 1212 his widow, Matilda de Conyers, claimed dower of a third of land in almost all the manors of the Arches fee against Peter de Brus, saying that Hugh de Flamville 'had endowed her on marriage with a third of all that could fall to him in inheritance, and that the lands had afterwards descended to him'. Peter replied, by attorney, that 'Hugh was never seised, either at his marriage or afterwards'.⁴⁶ The case was postponed, and must eventually have been decided in Peter's favour since he retained the whole fee. Clay took this case to mean that Hugh had had some claim on the Arches fee despite being a younger son, especially as Peter was liable, in 1209, for a fine of three palfreys for coming to an agreement with him.⁴⁷ An alternative, and more plausible interpretation, is that Hugh, as elder son, had indeed expected to inherit his mother's estates. Both having lived until 1209, Hugh then died, either before his mother or so

⁴³. *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p. 123.

⁴⁴. *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p. 131.

⁴⁵. *Rotuli de Oblati et Finibus*, p. 537. The Matilda de Flamville referred to is clearly Hugh's sister, not his wife (cf. *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p. 265). There is other evidence that Hugh may have died before 1210. He evidently also held land in Suffolk, in which county a Matilda de Flamville was named in a court case that year. *Curia Regis Rolls*, v, p. 12; *ibid.*, vi, pp. 6, 59.

⁴⁶. *Curia Regis Rolls*, vi, pp. 345-46.

⁴⁷. *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 30 n. 10; *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p. 123.

soon after that he had not taken seisin of the lands, thereby losing for his widow her share in them and leaving her with dower from only his Flamville lands.⁴⁸

Another problem which can be resolved if Juetta was wife of Adam II, relates to a record of gifts made to the chapel of St Mary and the Angels erected above a gateway near York Minster by Archbishop Roger. Among the gifts is the church of Thorp [Arch] which is said to have been granted by Adam de Brus and Juetta his wife.⁴⁹ As Roger de Pont l'Évêque was not archbishop until 1154, this appears to be incompatible with Farrer's statement that the gift was made before Adam I's death in 1143, a statement which he explains by adding that the chapel was erected 'subsequently'.⁵⁰ A note in the *Victoria County History* for Durham also questions the end date of 1143 for the grant, commenting that the witnesses to Archbishop Roger's confirmation appear to be later, though conceding that this may not be contemporary with the grants it confirms.⁵¹ No such explanations would be necessary if Juetta was wife of Adam II, because the grant could then have been made within the time of Roger's archbishopric, which lasted until 1181. In addition, it is highly unlikely that Juetta could have made any such grant until she had inherited the estates following her father's death in c. 1154, especially as her parents had included the same church among their gifts to her sister Matilda and the nuns of Nun Monkton between 1147 and 1154.⁵²

Several other grants by Juetta survive, some made in conjunction with Roger de Flamville, but many in her name alone. That of tithes to Nostell referred to above was evidently made in c. 1206, during the period of her second widowhood. That to her daughter Isabella was made in 1192, during Adam II's lifetime. The suggested date-limits for the remainder are set so wide as to be inconclusive, and all except one could have been made after Adam II's death. The remaining, earlier, one could date from the time of her first widowhood.⁵³ Another transaction for which the surviving record names Juetta alone, without reference to a husband, is the sale of her interest in the manor of Askham [Richard] for 220 marks to her overlord, Roger de Mowbray, who then sold it to his 'friend' William Tickhill, a merchant of York. The grant to William Tickhill is unlikely to have been made before 1175, and there is an implication that the arrangement with Juetta was made in conjunction with it. Whether or not this was done before her second marriage, it is interesting to note that the first witness to one of the charters concerned is William of Aumale.⁵⁴

Having established that Juetta de Arches was indeed the wife of Adam de Brus II, it is now necessary to determine who was the wife of Adam I. Here again Brown provides

⁴⁸ Glanvill's statement that a widow's reasonable dower was one third of all her husband's estates held in demesne 'at the time of the marriage' would not apply in this case, as Hugh had only the *expectation* of inheriting his mother's lands when they were married. But this could have been the reason why Matilda made the attempt to claim one third of the Arches estates. *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England commonly called Glanvill*, ed. G. D. G. Hall (London, 1965), p. 59.

⁴⁹ *Historians of the Church of York*, III, ed. James Raine, Rolls Series, 71 (1894), p. 76.

⁵⁰ *EYC*, II, p. 12.

⁵¹ *Victoria County History: Durham*, III, p. 256 n. 58.

⁵² *EYC*, I, no. 535. This grant to Nun Monkton was confirmed by Roger de Mowbray as overlord, and subsequently by King John in 1200. There was clearly some confusion over the grant, because in 1226 the nuns of Nun Monkton came to an agreement with the chapter of the chapel at York, whereby the nuns were able to retain their lands in Thorp and the chapel of Walton, but ceded their rights in the church. *Mowbray Charters*, no. 222; *Rotuli Chartarum*, II, pp. 41b-42; *VCH: Yorks*, III, p. 122; *Register or Rolls of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York*, Surtees Society, 56 (1872), p. 2.

⁵³ *EYC*, I, nos. 536, 538, 552, 553; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 107-08.

⁵⁴ *Mowbray Charters*, nos. 388, 389; *EYC*, I, no. 547. As Juetta later granted land in Askham [Richard] to her daughter, Isabella de Brus, in c. 1192, she evidently continued to hold an interest there, or had been able to reclaim it, possibly after the death in 1182 of William Tickhill, whose daughter initiated an unsuccessful claim against Isabella in 1208. *EYC*, I, nos. 548, 549; *Curia Regis Rolls*, v, p. 276.

a possible answer by naming her as Agnes d'Aumale, sister of William; and although the evidence is less conclusive than in the case of Juetta, there are sufficient pointers to suggest that this was indeed the case.⁵⁵ It has long been recognised that the later Bruses were descended from this sister of Earl William, because of a claim put forward in 1274 by the heirs of Peter de Brus III to the Aumale estates, after the death of William's last direct descendant.⁵⁶ Dugdale accounted for this by placing Agnes as wife of Peter de Brus I, a suggestion which Farrer rejected because of the wide discrepancy in their ages. Furthermore, as Farrer noted, the only recorded wife of Peter I is named as Joan, and had links with the Lacy honor of Pontefract. Farrer's own suggestion, that Agnes might be wife of Adam II, has now been shown not to be the case.⁵⁷ Although the wife of Robert de Brus I was named Agnes, it is highly improbable that she could have been Agnes d'Aumale. Robert's eldest son, Adam I, was old enough to witness a charter before 1117; his mother must therefore have been born well before 1100. Yet Agnes d'Aumale not only lived until after 1170, but bore a son to her other husband no earlier than 1145, by which time Adam's mother would have been more than 50 years old.⁵⁸ This leaves Adam de Brus I as the most likely candidate for husband of Agnes d'Aumale. It remains to determine how well the evidence fits.

Like Juetta de Arches, Agnes d'Aumale was twice married. Her other husband was William de Roumare II, son of the Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1151 during the lifetime of his father. As Agnes is not thought to have married William II before 1145, nor their son, William III, to have been of age before 1166, this is not incompatible with her being the wife of Adam de Brus I who died in 1143, thus making William de Roumare her second rather than her first husband.⁵⁹ On at least two occasions Agnes witnessed charters of Earl William in company with Adam de Brus II, while he was still a youth. In these, as in most other charters where her name appears, Agnes is designated as 'de Albemarle' (Aumale) or 'sister of the count', indicative of her brother's superior standing compared with that of either of her husbands, even though one was heir to the Earl of Lincoln. Indeed, even in grants made by her in association with her second husband, William de Roumare II, she is still referred to as Agnes de Albemarle; although in a confirmation to the monks of Meaux, made between 1151 and 1156 during her second widowhood, she is described in addition as 'sometime wife of William of Roumare'. This confirmation relates to a grange in the parish of Warter, which had come to the Roumare family through the agency of the Aumales, possibly as Agnes's *maritagium*, a fact which adequately accounts for the omission of any reference to her Brus husband on this occasion.⁶⁰ However, Agnes d'Aumale is undoubtedly the Agnes de Brus named in the pipe roll of 1156 as paying a fine of two marks for her son. Since the record relates to Brus dues,

⁵⁵. Brown, *YAJ*, 13, p. 244.

⁵⁶. The Brus heirs lost to another claimant, John de Eston, who 'said he was descended from Avice, an otherwise unrecorded daughter of William', a claim which may have been put forward at the suggestion of Edward I, was 'based on fantasy rather than fact', and ended with John de Eston quitclaiming the estates to the crown. See English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 54; *ETC*, vii, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁷. Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 449; *ETC*, ii, p. 35. *Chartulary ... of the Park of Healaugh*, pp. 151-52; *Guisborough Cartulary*, no. 11; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edn, vi, p. 103; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, 1, ed. Richard Holmes, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 25 (1899), no. 229.

⁵⁸. *ETC*, i, no. 527; Edmund King, 'The Parish of Warter and the Castle of Galchlin', *YAJ*, 52 (1980), p. 51. Agnes, wife of Robert de Brus I, is most likely to have been a daughter of Richard de Surdeval whose Cleveland lands, including Skelton, passed almost entirely to Brus. *ETC*, vi, p. 4 n. 8.

⁵⁹. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 22; King, *YAJ*, 52, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁰. *ETC*, iii, nos. 1320, 1334, 1379, 1385, 1386, 1388; *ETC*, x, no. 88; Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 174; King, *YAJ*, 52, pp. 51-54.

this was clearly her son by Adam de Brus I, not yet of age and officially under her guardianship, despite her brother's assumption of responsibility for the lands.⁶¹

Agnes lived on, as a widow, until after 1170 when she witnessed a charter of her youngest son, William de Roumare III, confirming the church of Burton [Agnes] to the abbey of St Mary, York, to be held in the same manner as in the time of his 'predecessors', Robert de Brus and Adam his son. Why it should be William de Roumare who made this confirmation of a former Brus grant is puzzling. Farrer's suggestion that he held it through his mother is the most likely explanation, and one which gains additional credence if Agnes was indeed the widow of Adam de Brus I since it could well have formed a part of her dower.⁶² A further complication arises over the subenfeoffment of this manor to a branch of the Stuteville family, who were associates of the Aumales and may therefore have acquired it during this period. The Stutevilles continued to hold it as subtenants after it reverted to the Bruses, and it was included in the two fees being held by their successors, the heirs of Roger de Merlay, in 1279. It therefore seems likely that it was Burton [Agnes] and its dependencies for which Roger de Stuteville paid scutage in 1172 on one and seven-eighths fees which he held of the fee of Brus. That it was Roger rather than Adam who paid the scutage suggests that it was then still being held as dower land by the widowed Agnes.⁶³

Towards the end of the twelfth century, the Bruses were holding lands of the Count of Aumale in a number of manors on his Holderness estates, which they continued to hold until the death of Peter de Brus III in 1272. Farrer found this Brus connection with the fee of Holderness 'obscure'. If, however, Agnes d'Aumale was wife of Adam I, it can surely be explained by the supposition that the lands were the *maritagium* which she brought to the Bruses and then passed to her eldest son, Adam II.⁶⁴

Having confirmed that Brown's identification of the wife of Adam de Brus I as Agnes d'Aumale is well within the bounds of probability, it becomes apparent that the wardship of Adam de Brus II was acquired by Earl William, not by 'means unknown', but by virtue of his standing as maternal uncle of the boy, a position well-recognised to have been of considerable influence in the family hierarchy in the twelfth century.⁶⁵ The difficulties encountered by Dalton and others arise from following Dugdale and Farrer in the belief that Adam I was married to Juetta de Arches and the suggestion that Agnes d'Aumale was Adam II's wife. The converse clearly answers many of the problems. And while William's relationship to the young Adam in no way justifies the Earl's misuse of Brus estates to support his own bid for power within the county, it goes some way towards explaining how easily he found the opportunity to do so.

It was not the Yorkshire Bruses alone who were involved with Earl William. At some date before 1150, Robert de Brus II of Annandale was married to his niece, Euphemia. There is no evidence by which to establish Euphemia's parentage, but she must have been William's ward since it was he who provided her *maritagium*. This was the manor of Dimlington, close to the southern tip of Holderness, far from any Brus estates and

⁶¹. *Pipe Roll 2 Henry II*, p. 27.

⁶². *ETC*, II, no. 677. Farrer also suggested that the manor acquired its appellation of 'Agnes' from Agnes d'Aumale, although the first reference to it by that name does not occur until the mid-thirteenth century. *ETC*, II, p. 35; *Place-names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, A. H. Smith, English Place-names Society, 14 (Cambridge, 1937), p. 88.

⁶³. *ETC*, II, pp. 35–36; *ETC*, IX, pp. 28–31; *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, p. 62; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, I (1904), no. 636; *ibid.*, II, p. 189.

⁶⁴. The manors were Mappleton, Rowleston, Dringhoe, Ulrome and Owlston; *ETC*, III, pp. 69–70; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, II, p. 189; English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 150.

⁶⁵. Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 180; Charlotte A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 51.

accessible only through the long peninsula of Earl William's lands or from the sea. Dimlington was made the subject of an unusual arrangement between the Earl and his niece, when sometime between 1150 and 1160 Euphemia granted the manor back to her uncle for his lifetime, in return for a gold ring and a sum of silver.⁶⁶ Although this could be interpreted as evidence that Earl William had some hold over the couple, it may simply be that the manor was so remote from Robert II's other interests that ready cash was of more immediate use to him.

So it was that both lines of descent from Robert de Brus I came under the influence of William of Aumale through marriage alliances. That between Adam I and Agnes must have been arranged and taken place before the death of Robert I, as two sons had been born to them by 1143. An alliance between two such families, commanding between them a large area of Yorkshire lands, must have seemed advantageous to both of them in the light of the Scottish threat. In the end, however, the advantages were all for Aumale. The marriage between Robert II and Euphemia, which can be dated only as taking place before *c.* 1150, offers a wider perspective. It is a reminder that the Brus family, even after the Battle of the Standard, continued to be closely associated with the King of Scots. This raises the question of how far the Aumale/Brus marriages formed a part of the political manoeuvring between Earl William and King David as the Scots began to infiltrate the region south of the Tees, threatening the Earl's authority and even, it has been suggested, persuading him to be a party to their planned attack on York.⁶⁷ What is clear, however, is that in a region which could become subject to either English or Scottish rule, it was as useful to Earl William as to King David to have the support of a family such as the Bruses, whose connections lay on both sides of the mutable border.

^{66.} *ETC*, III, no. 1352.

^{67.} Earl William arranged for another of his nieces to marry the nephew of King David's chancellor, William Cumin, when the latter was competing for the bishopric of Durham. Alan Young, *William Cumin: Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham 1141-1144*, Borthwick Papers 54 (York, 1979), p. 20. For an account of King David's methods of strengthening his alliances in Yorkshire, see Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 211-30; Keith J. Stringer, 'State-building in Twelfth Century Britain: David I, King of Scots and Northern England', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700*, ed. John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud, 1997), pp. 56-60.

CONSIDERATE BROTHERS OR PREDATORY NEIGHBOURS? RIEVAULX ABBEY AND OTHER MONASTIC HOUSES IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

By Emilia Jamroziak*

Rievaulx Abbey, founded in 1132, became, in the first hundred years of its existence, one of the most important and successful Cistercian houses. From the beginning Rievaulx developed a variety of relationships with its neighbours, both lay and ecclesiastical: families, tenorial groups and other Church institutions such as monastic houses. These connections lasted often for several generations and frequently underwent changes from friendly co-operation to open conflicts and then back to amicable co-existence. These social networks, of which Rievaulx Abbey was a part, were crucial for medieval society as expressions of solidarity, affinity and co-operation between various families and other groups across the social stratification system and over several generations. The presence of these networks helped to confine conflicts within socially acceptable boundaries and fostered the development of strategies to resolve conflicts or to prevent their occurrence. It is therefore crucial for our understanding of the workings of medieval Yorkshire society to study more closely these social networks in which Rievaulx Abbey was an important element.

The majority of the neighbours of monastic houses were lay people of various social standings, but many houses also had other religious communities in their close vicinity. Despite the theological doctrines and the ideology of monasticism expressed in the language of *caritas*, friendship and co-operation, many of the relationships, not only between houses of different orders but even between those belonging to the same order, varied and were not always peaceful. Cistercian authors particularly stressed the importance of friendship within and between monastic communities. The idea of *caritas* was understood on two levels as a spiritual union with the divine and as a spirit which should bind monastic communities and other members of the Church.¹ In practice this ideal was very difficult to follow for a variety of reasons which will be discussed with reference to Rievaulx.

Although Rievaulx Abbey was the first and one of the most important Cistercian houses in the North of England, it had many monastic neighbours both in its close vicinity and further afield. Within a radius of 15 miles of Rievaulx were houses of three orders — Byland (originally Savigniac, then Cistercian) the nearest, then two Augustinian houses in Newburgh and Kirkham and one Gilbertine in Malton.² Within the further radius of

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¹ Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 97–105.

² Janet Burton, 'The Estates and Economy of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire', *Cîteaux*, 49 (1998), p. 44.

30 miles there were two Benedictine houses in Whitby and St Mary's, York, one Premonstratensian in Easby, two Cistercian in Fountains and Jervaulx, and one Augustinian in Gisborough. In the course of this article I will discuss several cases of contacts between Rievaulx and other monasteries in the area, but these are only examples and by no means cover all the occurrences found in the sources.

Monastic houses were rarely neighbours in the literal sense of the word, that is having their precincts in close vicinity; more commonly their granges or pastures bordered with each other. The distribution of land between monastic houses was the result of several factors. The foundation grants and initial donations gave each abbey its base and the direction for further expansion. Subsequent acquisitions of land by each house were limited by the geographical conditions of the area and the willingness of benefactors to alienate their own property, but each monastery developed its own direction of expansion and concentrated on building granges in particular places. All these factors influenced the distribution of the estates of the Yorkshire houses and therefore their mutual relationships. There were two distinct geographical areas where the majority of their estates were concentrated and even overlapped. In Cleveland were lands belonging to Rievaulx, Byland, Gisborough, Fountains, Newburgh and Whitby. In the Vale of Pickering donations, exchanges and purchases created estates for Malton, Rievaulx, Whitby, Byland, Newburgh and Bridlington.³

The sources illuminating relationships between Rievaulx and other monasteries are scattered and fragmented, but nevertheless they provide information on a variety of interactions ranging from friendly co-operation and negotiation to open conflict. Rievaulx Abbey interacted with other monasteries for several reasons. Most contacts occurred because the monasteries belonged to the same order and were all part of the Church, but many links were also a result of the abbey's involvement with the lay world, particularly via patrons. The majority of benefactors gave grants to more than one house and often these acts created links between houses, which otherwise might never have occurred.⁴

Not surprisingly most of the conflicts resulted from overlapping areas of economic interests and disputed borders. This type of conflict was typical for any kind of neighbours, not necessarily ecclesiastical, but in the case of monasteries, disputes might take a different form from lay confrontations, and the monks or canons were more likely to ask abbots of other houses or higher Church officials for arbitration. Conflicts of an economic nature occurred because, in practice, the role of any Cistercian monastery was dual, consisting of spiritual pursuits on the one hand and economic activities on the other. This dualism, so clear to us, was probably not perceived so strongly by contemporaries then, particularly by members of the Church, for whom economic pursuits were probably identified more closely with the need for expansion for the glory of God.⁵ In order to attract donations monastic houses needed to establish and cultivate reputations for spiritual excellency and to develop relationships with their existing donors and also their neighbours or tenants who were potential benefactors. This necessity pushed Rievaulx to compete with other monasteries for land and for the donations necessary for its successful functioning.

Conflict was not the only mode of interaction. Another type of relationship into which Rievaulx entered with other monasteries resulted from its position in the Cistercian order. On several occasions Rievaulx acted as an investigator or mediator at the request of the

³ Bryan Waites, 'The Monastic Settlement of North-East Yorkshire', *EAJ*, 40 (1961), p. 492.

⁴ This is true not only in the case of Cistercian houses, but many other monastic orders. Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: the Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York, 1981), pp. 103-04.

⁵ For analysis of the connection between economic and religious elements in monasticism, see Jack Goody, *The European Family: An Historico-Anthropological Essay* (Oxford, 2000), p. 40.

Chapter General. Because of its prominent position in the English Cistercian province the Cistercian Chapter General was inclined to ask Rievaulx for arbitration if such a necessity arose. Significantly, Rievaulx Abbey often acted as mediator in this way, but was much less often involved in conflict itself. Between 1191 and 1292 the abbots of Rievaulx, together with other abbots, mediated or reported nineteen times to the Chapter General about situations in several English Cistercian houses, but Rievaulx itself was involved in only seven conflicts, out of which four were with its closest neighbour, Byland. In comparison, Fountains Abbey seems the more aggressive institution: it acted between 1191 and 1278 as a mediator or investigator only ten times but was involved in conflicts eighteen times — with Byland, Melrose and Furness, and the Archbishop of York.

Cartularies of other monastic houses also provide testimony to the active role of the Abbots of Rievaulx as mediators among Yorkshire houses. For example, Abbot Sylvanus of Rievaulx (1170–88) was appointed among other high ecclesiastics to resolve conflict between the Priory of Gisborough and Robert, priest of Glemham, over the church in Crathorne.⁶ In 1251 the Abbots of Rievaulx and Rufford, its daughter-house, were called to arbitrate between Fountains and Sallay Abbeys. More than twenty years later, in 1279, Abbots William of Rievaulx and Adam of Byland were appointed by the General Chapter to resolve a further conflict between Fountains and Sallay.⁷

Another important indication of the extent of the positive contacts between Rievaulx and its monastic neighbours is in witness lists. Among the 244 charters which constitute the original twelfth-century cartulary of Rievaulx Abbey as many as fifty-four contain names of abbots, priors, monks or canons from other houses.⁸ Not surprisingly, the single most frequently recorded individual witness was Roger, Abbot of Byland (1142–94), who was cited five times, but priors and canons of Bridlington witnessed nine charters, more than representatives of any single Cistercian house: Priors Roger (1149–53) and Gregory (1154–81) of Bridlington and canons Gregory, Ralph, Gilbert, Reginald, Baldwin de Gant and Geoffrey the cellarer. Priors of Newburgh, another Augustinian house, witnessed five charters: Prior Augustine (1142/3–54) witnessed three charters and Prior Richard (1155–86) two charters. Although the Abbots of Fountains did not witness any of the charters collected in the Rievaulx cartulary, Abbot Acius and two monks, Peter and Harvey, of its daughter house, Vaudey (Lincolnshire) witnessed five charters. Alexander, Abbot of Kirkstall (1147–82), another of the daughters of Fountains, as well as two monks of this house, witnessed three charters. Abbots of the daughter houses of Rievaulx also witnessed grants to the mother-house. Ailred, during his time as Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire (1143–47), witnessed one charter, Abbot Hugh of Revesby (1172–1203/4) appeared in three witness lists, and Simon, cellarer of Revesby, appeared once. Hugh (occ. 1173–79), abbot of Warden in Bedfordshire, witnessed one charter for the mother house, while Simon the cellarer of Warden, and Alexander, a monk of Warden, witnessed two and one documents respectively. Ernald, the Abbot of Melrose, a Scottish daughter house of Rievaulx, and Elias, Abbot of Rufford in Nottinghamshire (1155–60/76), each appeared in one list.

The witnessing of charters was an important activity helping to establish and also to display the friendly relationships between monastic houses and their neighbours, both lay and religious. By the act of witnessing a donation or other legal act, the witnesses became bonded with the grantee. Their memory had a legal value and could be used in

⁶ *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne, Ebor. Dioeceseos Ordinis S. Augustini*, ed. W. Brown, I, Surtees Society, 86 (1889), no. 592.

⁷ *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. Joseph McNulty, II, YAS Record Series, 90 (1934), no. 412.

⁸ *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 83 (1889) [henceforth cited as *Cartulary*].

any future dispute. Witnesses usually formed a recurring group which can be analysed to trace possible alliances, connections and mutual trust.

Physically the closest monastic neighbour of Rievaulx was Byland. This abbey was founded in 1138 by Roger de Mowbray, also an important benefactor of Rievaulx Abbey, and had a very turbulent early history. The house changed its location four times in the first thirty-three years. Originally established as a Savigniac house in Calder (Cumberland) in 1134 by Ranulf Meschin, in 1137 the abbey was destroyed by a Scottish raid. After a few years of wandering the monks received help from Roger de Mowbray and his mother Gundreda who in 1138 gave them Hood as their new site. The growth of the community prompted the patrons to grant them a new site in Old Byland in 1142.⁹ This new location created conflict with Rievaulx, which was so close that the communities were confused by the sound of each other's bells, because their daily routines were different, Byland being at that point still a Savigniac house. As a result, in 1147 the congregation of Byland was moved again, first to Stocking (parish of Kilburn) and finally in 1177 to New Byland, where it remained.¹⁰

Although the dating of the documents relating to the relationship between Rievaulx and Byland which are copied into the cartulary is approximate, the earliest one dates from the time when the Byland community was still living in Old Byland. Not surprisingly it involves boundaries: between 1142 and 1145 Abbot Roger of Byland agreed that Rievaulx Abbey could dig a ditch to the river Rye on the property belonging to Byland and also had a right to use the land which the said ditch enclosed.¹¹ Later, a comprehensive agreement between Abbot Roger of Byland (1142–96) and Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx (1147–67) regulated various disagreements concerning the borders of the properties of both houses.¹² The preamble of this charter explicitly emphasises the intention of both communities to maintain mutual peace and love. They promised reciprocal prayers and, on a more practical level, to support and advise in case of hostility or persecution by their patrons, powerful noblemen or neighbours.¹³ The text declares:

And therefore at the death of any brother of Rievaulx the brothers of Byland will do in respect of masses and psalms and other prayers just as for a brother of the same house; therefore also on the death of any brother of Byland, those of Rievaulx will render the same for him. If indeed any oppression or persecution by advocates or powerful men or neighbours should arise for one house, then they should stand together in advice and help, supporting each other in all things.¹⁴

The expressions used in this case are vague and do not refer to any specific occasion or person, but the clause is essentially a part of the contract included on purpose and not a decorative feature. The promise of mutual prayers was not an empty phrase. By establishing a 'community of prayers' the monks set up a system of reciprocity and remembrance. For a monastic community such a declaration carried a significant practical and ideological dimension: the exchange of prayers expressed the idea of 'monastic brotherhood'. Often these mutual commemorations were the result of friendships between

⁹ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I–III, ed. William Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914–16); IV–XII, ed. C. T. Clay, YAS Record Series, extra series (1935–65), III, no. 1833 [henceforth cited as *EYC*].

¹⁰ Janet Burton, 'The Settlement of Disputes between Byland Abbey and Newburgh Priory', *IAJ*, 55 (1983), pp. 67–68; Janet Burton, 'The Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx, and the Problem of the English Savigniacs, 1134–1156', in *Monastic Studies: the Continuity of Tradition*, II, ed. Judith Loades (Bangor, 1991), pp. 119–24.

¹¹ *Cartulary*, no. 244.

¹² Burton, 'Estates and Economy', *Cîteaux*, 49, p. 47.

¹³ *Cartulary*, no. 243.

¹⁴ *Cartulary*, no. 243. 'Et ideo, obeunte aliquo fratre Rievallensi, fratres de Bellelanda in missis et psalmis caeterisque orationibus sicut pro fratre ipsius Domus faciant; quod et ipsum, obeunte aliquo fratre Bellelandae, Rievallenses pro ipso persolvent. Si vero aliquid adversi vel prosecutionis ab advocatis, vel a potentibus, vel vicinis uni Domui emerit, per invicem stabunt consilio et auxilio, sibi in omnibus adhaerentes.'

the abbots or marked the end of disputes between houses, just as in the case of Rievaulx and Byland.¹⁵

The text of this lengthy agreement is quoted in full in a confirmation of 1170, entitled in the cartulary 'Cyrographum pacis inter nos et Bellandenses'. It lists all the points of controversy between Byland and Rievaulx and was clearly intended as a permanent solution for these disagreements. Byland acknowledged the right of Rievaulx to a bridge with a trap to hold back their timber carried down the Rye. The height of the bridge on that river was to be kept the same or, if they wished, raised to the level of the bank. Rievaulx was also granted the road from this bridge as far as their own land went towards Hesketh with the right to repair it. Both houses gave each other rights to repair mill ponds and bridges on both sides of the river if required. The portion of land enclosed by the ditch at the foot of Ashberry Hill and the land called *Oswaldesengas* were to remain in possession of Rievaulx. Byland on the other hand was assured of the house built by it in Deepdale, and the right to acquire more land in Gristhorpe, Falsgrave, Seamer and Irton (all near Filey) with the exception of the meadow of Ayton, where nothing could be acquired. In Hutton Buscel up to the vill of Brompton there should be no change in property rights or buildings without the prior consultation of both abbots, cellarers and communities. The animals belonging to Rievaulx located at its Griff grange in Ryedale could be pastured in the wood of Scawton from Bungdale towards Sproxton, but the rest of Scawton remained as the exclusive property of Byland. The later part of the charter gives a detailed description of the borders between Rievaulx's grange of Hesketh and Old Byland and also sets out the division between Laskill and Bilsdale (Rievaulx's properties) and Snilesworth in Hawnby (belonging to Byland).

Another point of dispute, resolved by this document, was that over ironworks in Emley and Sitlington, now in West Yorkshire. Property there was granted by Matthew son of Saxe to Rievaulx Abbey between 1155 and 1170,¹⁶ while Adam son of Peter also gave a large grant in Sitlington, Flockton and Emley to Rievaulx.¹⁷ Byland was to have mines and charcoal in Emley and five other villis and their woods. Rievaulx on the other hand was to have the same in two parts of Sitlington (in the fee of Adam son of Peter and Matthew son of Saxe), Flockton and *Threpwda*.¹⁸

The confirmation went on to put to rest for ever all disputes up to that time. Byland quitclaimed two bovates in Welburn, *Oswaldesengas*, the ditch made in Stainton to lead the river Rye, ironworks in Stainton and Flockton, the bridge on the river Rye and the road from the bridge. In turn Rievaulx quitclaimed any rights to a common pasture in Murton. This agreement marked the eastern side of the Vale of Pickering as the area for expansion for Rievaulx Abbey. Finally both sides agreed to an arbitration procedure if any problem should arise in the future.

Despite this detailed agreement further conflicts took place as times and circumstances changed. The series of conflicts between Rievaulx and Byland recorded in the *Statuta Capitulorum* occurred in 1236, 1238, 1252 and 1253; unfortunately these entries are very laconic and do not provide information about the reasons for these conflicts.¹⁹ In the first instance Byland was complaining against Rievaulx, then in 1238 the statutes reveal a quarrel without indicating which community had complained. In the last two cases it was Rievaulx complaining against Byland. On the first occasion the Chapter General

¹⁵ Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 124–25.

¹⁶ *Cartulary*, no. 101; *EYC*, III, no. 1753.

¹⁷ *Cartulary*, nos. 93, 99, 95; *EYC*, III, nos. 1722, 1727, 1728.

¹⁸ For a commentary on this part of the agreement see *EYC*, VIII, pp. 210–11.

¹⁹ *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. Joseph Canivez, 8 vols (Louvain 1933–41), II, pp. 163 (1236: 48), 199–200 (1238: 72), 383 (1252: 35), 392–93 (1253: 18).

designated the Abbots of Roche, Kirkstall and Meaux to investigate the matter and resolve it by arbitration or judgement, and then in 1238 the Abbots of Furness, Combermere and Beaulieu were called to inspect the situation. In the last two cases in 1252 and 1253 the Chapter General appointed the Abbots of Furness, Fountains and Merevale to examine the situation, and to report back to the Chapter General about their arbitration. Although these entries are all very laconic, there is considerable change in tone with the 1253 decision of the Chapter General. Instead of just appointing another 'investigating team', the Chapter urged the designated abbots to give judgment without delay, and to resolve the matter so that there would be no need for further investigation.²⁰

This physical proximity between Rievaulx and Byland caused other practical problems. Both monasteries tried to attract donations from the same people, which meant that such lands could well be bordering. One of the ways of dealing with overlapping interests was to secure a monopoly of grants from a particular donor. Rievaulx gained exclusive mining rights in Stainborough near Barnsley from Adam son of Peter de Birkin, who gave much land in that area to Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys.²¹

Moving on from Byland to another neighbour, it is important to point out that the relationship between Rievaulx and the Augustinian canons of Kirkham Priory had a particular dimension lacking in other cases, due to the fact that both houses had the same founder. Kirkham was founded in 1122 by Walter Espec and located about 7 miles from Rievaulx. On the occasion of the foundation of Rievaulx Abbey in 1132 a certain reshaping of Kirkham's property occurred. A revised 'foundation charter' was written for the priory partly to compensate for a transfer of some of its properties to Rievaulx, namely the tithes of Griff and Tilston in Helmsley.²² Later, two almost identical charters confirmed the transfer of these tithes to Rievaulx. The first one was issued by an unidentified Prior of Kirkham in 1135, before the death of King Henry I.²³ The second one was issued by Prior Waldef not much later.²⁴ It is likely that these changes were the direct result of Walter Espec's plans and intentions for his foundations and as such were copied into the Rievaulx cartulary.²⁵

Sometime between 1132 and 1135, a peculiar agreement was drawn up between Rievaulx and Kirkham. The canons agreed to transfer their present house and most of their property to Rievaulx in return for a new residence to be built on another site within the year. The prior and some members of the community would stay behind in the old house and be granted the status of Cistercian monks.²⁶ When for some unknown reason this plan of turning Kirkham Priory into a Cistercian house had failed a second 'foundation charter' was issued between 1133 and 1135, or at least before 1140. This charter significantly changed the endowment of Kirkham.

This episode of the near disappearance and re-endowment of Kirkham Priory indicates how a powerful founder could intervene in the life of 'his' monastery and create links between houses of different orders which might not have come into being without his actions.

²⁰. *Statuta Capitulorum*, II, pp. 392–93 (1253: 18).

²¹. *Cartulary*, no. 92; Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069–1215* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 210–14.

²². D. Baker, 'Patronage in the Early Twelfth-Century Church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx', in *Traditio – Krisis – Renovatio aus Theologischer Sicht: Festschrift Winfried Zeller um 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernd Jaspert and Rudolf Mohr (Marburg, 1976), p. 96; *Cartulary*, no. 216; Janet E. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution*, University of York, Borthwick Papers, 86 (York, 1995), pp. 3–8.

²³. *Cartulary*, no. 234.

²⁴. *Cartulary*, no. 235.

²⁵. Baker, 'Patronage', in *Festschrift Winfried Zeller*, p. 97.

²⁶. *Cartulary*, no. 149; Baker, 'Patronage', in *Festschrift Winfried Zeller*, p. 94. For the text of this charter, see p. 100 of Baker's article.

Once we get beyond the immediate neighbours, relationships become calmer. Certainly, relations between Rievaulx and Fountains were less stormy than those with the closer neighbours. Their economic interests generally did not overlap and their joint position as the most important, rich and influential of the northern Cistercian houses was not questioned. Their relationship was more often one of working together and mediating for each other than of conflict. The chapters of Rievaulx and Fountains, together with Archbishop Roger of York and lay noblemen, witnessed between 1154 and 1181 an agreement between Byland Abbey and Newburgh Priory.²⁷ In 1218 the Abbots of Fountains, Rievaulx, Waverley, Margam and Beaulieu were chosen by the Chapter General to judge serious disorders occurring in English houses which could not wait until the next Chapter General.²⁸ In 1226 the abbots of Fountains and Rievaulx were called upon by Pope Gregory IX to restore the property of several nunneries in Yorkshire which were struggling with poverty and debts.²⁹

The only documented case of open conflict between Rievaulx and Fountains occurred between 1170 and 1180 and the cause was rather predictable — conflicting economic interests. It was ended by an agreement between Abbot Sylvanus of Rievaulx and Abbot Robert of Fountains, ratified by Abbot Alexander of Cîteaux and Abbot Henry of Clairvaux, in the presence of the abbots of other Cistercian houses — Richard of Mortimer (France) and the Abbots of Byland, Woburn, Sallay and Jervaulx. Both sides of the conflict agreed that the borders of their granges in Cleveland should not be changed. Both communities promised each other not to commit any trespasses, and the monks of Fountains were allowed to acquire pasture excepting the property of Everard II de Ros, the patron of Rievaulx Abbey, firewood and timber wherever they could and salt-pans and fisheries towards the sea.³⁰

Janet Burton suggested that this document refers to Rievaulx's grange in Normanby and Fountains Abbey's in Eston. The origin of this conflict lies in a grant to Fountains of land in Eston by Stephen II de Meinil, who was also an active benefactor of Rievaulx.³¹ Normanby Grange, which was in the parish of Eston and belonged to Rievaulx, was built from the grant by Richard son of Thurstan of Normanby (between 1170 and 1180) of one culture of land as well as permission to establish a fishery.³² Richard's son, Robert, confirmed this grant and added Saltcote hill between 1178 and 1181.³³ Finally, Richard Lost, a nephew of Robert, between 1175 and 1185 gave to the abbey a further 33 acres, described as being between the land given by his grand-uncle and uncle and the river Tees, together with the right to establish fisheries and common pasture for a hundred sheep, eight horses and oxen.³⁴ Taking into account the timing of these grants it is possible that the conflict with Fountains occurred while Rievaulx was receiving these donations in Normanby. The considerable distance from the house and the dispute with Fountains prompted Rievaulx Abbey to lease the pastures and fisheries in Normanby to Walter, parson of the church of Eston. The money was then spent on the purchase of 50 acres of arable land in Sproxton near Griff and a pasture for one hundred sheep and forty-eight head of cattle located close to the abbey.³⁵

²⁷. British Library, Egerton Charter 585.

²⁸. *Statuta Capitulorum*, I, p. 500 (1218: 74).

²⁹. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss, I, (London, 1893), p. 114.

³⁰. *Cartulary*, no. 241.

³¹. Joan Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132–1300* (Kalamazoo, 1987), p. 167.

³². *Cartulary*, no. 116; *EYC*, II, no. 739.

³³. *Cartulary*, no. 117.

³⁴. *Cartulary*, no. 118.

³⁵. Waite, 'Monastic Settlement', *IAJ*, 40, p. 493.

As we move on to discuss the relationship of Rievaulx Abbey with other religious orders, it is important to note that in its early history, the Abbots of Rievaulx displayed a considerable interest in the condition of the order of Sempringham (known as the Gilbertine order). Sempringham, as a new addition to the monastic landscape of England, needed to assert its place and role, particularly towards the older and more established institutions. An agreement of 'societatis et pacis' between the Cistercian and Gilbertine orders regulated the relationship between those two orders in England.³⁶ It was witnessed and sealed in 1164 by Geoffrey, Abbot of Clairvaux, Ailred of Rievaulx, Richard of Fountains, Walter of Kirkstead, and several other abbots and priors from both orders. The status of the Abbot of Rievaulx was recognised by the prominent position of his name in the witness list, in second place after the Abbot of Clairvaux. It indicates on one hand the personal significance of Ailred, and on the other marks the status of Rievaulx Abbey among monastic houses in England.

This agreement between the Cistercian and Gilbertine orders covered procedures for resolving quarrels over property rights and the issue of erecting new buildings. Monks and canons agreed that new granges or buildings belonging to the orders should be at a distance of two leagues from each other (about 9.65 km). The orders were permitted to receive up to one measure of land within this 'protected area', providing that this property was used as a pasture or cultivated by laymen, not by lay brothers, and that under no circumstances should granges be established there. Representatives of the Cistercian and Gilbertine orders promised not to accept canons, monks or novices from each other nor to hire servants who had not fulfilled their contracts with the other house.³⁷ Brian Golding interpreted this agreement as symptomatic of the increased competition for people and land. By 1150 the majority of substantial pieces of property which could have been distributed had already been donated, and the monastic orders were competing for rather meagre leftovers.³⁸

It seems that the general position of the Gilbertine order was of some concern to Rievaulx, as the charter of protection by King Richard I to that order was copied into Rievaulx's own cartulary.³⁹ This interest might date from the time of the first Abbot William of Rievaulx, who visited and advised Gilbert of Sempringham on the organisation of his order. For example, the Abbot of Rievaulx proposed to introduce lay sisters, and probably lay brothers, to the Gilbertine order. Ailred also became acquainted with Gilbert in 1143, when he was appointed as the first Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, which was located a few miles away from Sempringham.⁴⁰

However, in the thirteenth century this support diminished, and conflict between Rievaulx and Sempringham developed as is testified by papal mandates. In 1220 Pope Honorius III issued a mandate to the Abbots of Fountains, Rievaulx and Byland forbidding them to encroach on the rights of the canons of the order of Sempringham to the churches and their assets granted to them by patrons.⁴¹ Twenty-six years later, another mandate from Pope Innocent IV urged the Abbots of Byland and Rievaulx to stop harassing the canons of Sempringham contrary to the indult they had received from him.⁴² Next year, in 1247, a similar letter was directed to the Abbots of Rievaulx and Byland and the Prior of Bridlington, although the wording was different. Instead of

^{36.} *Cartulary*, no. 246.

^{37.} *Ibid.*

^{38.} Brian Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130–c. 1300* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 269, 280.

^{39.} *Cartulary*, no. 248.

^{40.} Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, pp. 83, 85.

^{41.} *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1, p. 76.

^{42.} *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1, p. 230.

reproaching the Cistercian abbots for harassing the Gilbertine order, the pope asked them to ensure that nobody encroached on the rights of the canons.⁴³ It appears that the papal orders were not obeyed and the pope had to issue another mandate in 1248 to the Abbot of Rievaulx and the Prior of Kirkham to investigate whether the Gilbertine order had been 'molested' against the papal indult. The abbot and the prior were appointed to oversee that the order of Sempringham received two churches and their income in the diocese of Lincoln.⁴⁴

It is impossible to assess why there were so many conflicts between members of the Cistercian, Augustinian and Gilbertine orders in the middle of the thirteenth century, but it is probable that some of these conflicts were related to common pastures in the Vale of Pickering. Both Rievaulx and Bridlington had large sheep flocks in that area and Malton Priory had the third largest herd there.⁴⁵ It also appears that the early involvement of Rievaulx Abbey with the Gilbertine order originated in the personal contacts established by its early abbots. Later, disputes between Rievaulx and houses belonging to the Gilbertine order arose from their conflicting economic interests and possibly some jealousy over the new and successful order at the time when the Cistercians became a less 'fashionable' object of donations.

Apart from the positive interactions between Rievaulx Abbey and the Augustinian houses discussed above, other types of connections occurred between Rievaulx and Bridlington, Newburgh and Gisborough. Most of them were of an economic nature, particularly over spheres of influence, grange building and shared common pastures. In the first place a particular group of conflicts originated from disagreements over tithe payment. Augustinian canons had no prohibition against or reservation about receiving tithes. They were in fact 'the best option' for noblemen to dispose of their proprietary churches, which became in the later twelfth century, due to the reform movement in the Church, more of a burden than a useful source of income.⁴⁶ Cistercian abbeys, although formally prohibited from accepting churches and their tithes, were very keen on this type of income as well.

Secondly, the benefactions of the Mowbray family also brought Rievaulx into contact with Newburgh Priory which received land in Welburn from the same benefactor.⁴⁷ Both houses had disagreements over the tithes due from Welburn and *Hoveton* (in Welburn). Rievaulx as a Cistercian house was exempted from this payment, a privilege which was very much cherished by the order. Between 1189 and c. 1210 Rievaulx granted the tithes it possessed in Welburn and *Hoveton* to Newburgh Priory to avoid further disputes. Both houses agreed as to which lands were liable for tithes and which were not.⁴⁸

Thirdly, contacts between Rievaulx Abbey and Gisborough were more varied. For example Gisborough Priory became a tenant of Rievaulx Abbey due to the fact that some of its benefactors had dealings with the Cistercian abbey. Stephen, Richard and Dionisius de Eston confirmed a grant to Gisborough Priory of all the land in the vill of *Kaldecotes* (Cargo Fleet, Middlesbrough), which their father Walter had bought from Rievaulx in the second half of the twelfth century. The canons were obliged to pay a service payment of 2s. yearly to Rievaulx, which the abbey had to pay to the Brus

⁴³. *Cal. Papal Letters*, I, p. 233.

⁴⁴. *Cal. Papal Letters*, I, pp. 258–59.

⁴⁵. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 421.

⁴⁶. Janet Burton, 'Monasteries and Parish Churches in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 23 (1987), p. 39.

⁴⁷. *ESC*, IX, no. 163.

⁴⁸. *ESC*, IX, no. 164. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodsworth MSS, viii, fol. 152^v.

family.⁴⁹ In 1233 Peter II de Brus quitclaimed this payment to Rievaulx Abbey.⁵⁰ This kind of economic connection became common between religious houses in the course of the thirteenth century and caused a considerable number of conflicts and law-suits.

Another of the northern Augustinian houses, Bridlington Priory, was founded by Walter de Gant, one of the prominent benefactors of Rievaulx Abbey. Although the two institutions were located at a considerable distance from each other (40 miles), they received lands in close proximity. In order to avoid conflict with Bridlington Priory in Willerby (East Riding), where the priory owned a church and Rievaulx had a licence to acquire land and pasture, the abbey leased 10½ acres of land, tenements and pasture for 300 sheep to the priory in 1175.⁵¹ Rievaulx could technically have tried to build a grange there, having acquired a licence to purchase or receive grants there from Earl Simon de St Liz and his wife Alice de Gant between 1170 and 1184.⁵² Rievaulx's holdings there dated from as early as 1152 and were reconfirmed in 1172 by Henry de Willarby (a tenant of the Earl) with a clause permitting them to build a grange.⁵³ The reason for a compromise so favourable for the canons was probably the risk of a costly conflict with Bridlington arising from attempts to establish a grange.⁵⁴ Rievaulx recognised the area as primarily Bridlington's sphere of expansion.⁵⁵

In their numerous conflicts with monastic neighbours in the late twelfth century Rievaulx Abbey often looked for help outside the York diocese, even as far as the papal or royal court. In an attempt to stop encroachments on Rievaulx's properties by canons of Malton, Kirkham and Sempringham, Pope Alexander III issued a mandate to Bishop Hugh of Durham and Abbot Clement of St Mary's, York, between 1174 and 1176.⁵⁶ He obviously did not act on his own initiative. The monks of Rievaulx must have petitioned the pope on this matter and asked for help. This mandate urges the above-mentioned ecclesiastics to stop trespasses committed on various properties of Rievaulx Abbey. The canons of Malton were illegally occupying waste below Pickering; the canons of Sempringham claimed the right to the property given to the abbey by Adam son of Peter de Birkin and his mother; and the canons of Kirkham were occupying more than they should of the pasture in Helmsley which Rievaulx and Kirkham had been given for their joint use. The canons of Sempringham and Malton were ordered by the pope to vacate unjustly taken land, and the canons of Kirkham were to stick to the portion of pasture granted to them. It is very likely that the disputes described in this charter were not linked to each other. The pope was responding to a request for help from the monks who had been troubled by the canons of Malton, Sempringham and Kirkham at some point prior to the papal intervention, but these actions were not a joint campaign against Rievaulx Abbey. All three houses had different reasons for their disagreements with Rievaulx. Malton, like many lay individuals, wanted to get a part of the attractive land below Pickering. In contrast, Kirkham was already sharing pasture rights with Rievaulx because they had been granted to them by their founder. A separate document issued by Henry II in 1175 settled the conflict between Malton and Rievaulx over the waste

⁴⁹. *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, no. 557.

⁵⁰. BL, Additional Charter 20578.

⁵¹. *ETC*, II, no. 1230.

⁵². *Cartulary*, no. 158.

⁵³. *ETC*, II, no. 1228. This charter was copied into the Bridlington cartulary, but not the Rievaulx cartulary, which indicated the canons' keen interest in the area.

⁵⁴. Waites, 'Monastic Settlement', *YAJ*, 40, p. 493; R. A. Donkin, 'The Cistercian Grange in England in the 12th and 13th Centuries with Special Reference to Yorkshire', *Studia Monastica*, 6 (1964), p. 103.

⁵⁵. *Abstract of the Bridlington Chartulary*, ed. W. T. Lancaster (Leeds, 1915), pp. 100, 114, 115.

⁵⁶. *Cartulary*, no. 267. The mandate is dated at Anagni the day before the Ides of March (14 March) but the year is not given.

below Pickering. The monks of Rievaulx permitted thirty oxen, two bulls and thirty cows belonging to the canons to be pastured 'for ever' on the waste below Pickering, but their calves were to be removed when one year old. In return, Malton Priory quitclaimed all rights to the waste.⁵⁷

Apart from the contacts with fellow monastic houses described above, there is some evidence for the involvement of Rievaulx Abbey with another type of religious institution, the charitable hospital. This type of interest might indicate Rievaulx's concern with charitable pursuits, but was also a result of much more mundane considerations. Although the Cistercian order was not primarily designed to help those in need, by donations to hospitals a Cistercian house could perform charitable works by proxy. Possibly as early as 1147 Ailred of Rievaulx promised alms of clothing and other goods yearly on St Martin's Day in return for the tenancy of two bovates of land, which the abbey received from St Michael's Hospital in Whitby.⁵⁸ Between 1147 and 1157 Godwin, priest of that hospital, granted three bovates of land to Rievaulx in exchange for 3s. yearly.⁵⁹

Later interactions between Rievaulx and two other hospitals — St Peter's in York (later known as St Leonard's) and St Thomas's in Bolton (Northumberland) — occurred for a very different reason. Between 1180 and 1203 Paulinus, the master of St Leonard's, granted to Rievaulx a piece of land in the Marsh of Hungate. The property was the tenure of the hospital and had been held previously by Jeremiah, archdeacon of Cleveland.⁶⁰ After the death of Jeremiah, his relatives disputed this grant. Between 1192 and 1220 John, his kinsman, quitclaimed, or rather sold, land in Hungate to the abbey for 43 marks.⁶¹ The readiness of the abbey to buy off quarrelsome relatives of the donor is not surprising if we look at the location of this grant. The Hungate area was located close to the river Foss, and property there might be used for the storage of wool before shipment. It is known from other sources that Rievaulx used its York property to store wool contracted to Italian merchants.⁶²

The second hospital, St Thomas's in Bolton (within the barony of Wark-on-Tweed, which Robert I de Ros inherited from Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx Abbey), was established about 1225 by Robert II de Ros, patron of Rievaulx Abbey and Kirkham Priory. The hospital, designated to care for lepers, was under the supervision of Kirkham Priory and the Abbey of Rievaulx.⁶³ It was probably at the request of Robert de Ros that the Abbot of Rievaulx and Prior of Kirkham assumed this supervisory role. As a patron of both houses, Robert could put pressure on the abbot and prior to take up these roles, although his influence over the Augustinian house in Kirkham was considerably stronger than over Rievaulx. Because the hospital shared the same patron with Rievaulx, it was bound to receive lands in the same vicinity as the other, which, again, created potential conflicts. At some point William, the master of St Thomas's Hospital in Bolton, quitclaimed all rights which his institution was claiming to the vill of *Elvele* (Ella) and Swanland near Hull with pasture for 200 sheep. Both these vills in the diocese of York were part of the initial endowment of the hospital, given to it by Robert II de Ros, patron of Bolton and Rievaulx, but the reason for the quitclaim, or any possible compensation,

⁵⁷. *Cartulary*, no. 192.

⁵⁸. *EYC*, IX, no. 123.

⁵⁹. *EYC*, IX, no. 124.

⁶⁰. *EYC*, I, no. 304.

⁶¹. *EYC*, I, no. 305.

⁶². Public Record Office, King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Rolls E 159/59 m. 9d, E 159/60 m. 16d, E 159/61 m. 11d, E 159/65 m. 27.

⁶³. John C. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, VII (Newcastle, 1904), pp. 200–02. The names of the respective prior and abbot are on the foundation grant of the hospital.

is not specified.⁶⁴ The name of William de Whickham appears in an incomplete list of masters of this institution under the year 1313.⁶⁵ Although the charter of quitclaim is undated, there is no proof that this is the same person. I am inclined to suggest that the Master William from the charter was a person active in the thirteenth century. The charter refers to Robert II de Ros, who died in 1226, as a recently deceased person, and there is no additional title to describe him, which seems to indicate that the people involved knew exactly who he was. It is unlikely that such a wording would be used almost ninety years after his death.

There is no evidence for further contacts between the abbey and the hospital until 1280 when Rievaulx Abbey granted to St Thomas's Hospital in Bolton half a carucate in Bolton.⁶⁶ It is possible that this grant constituted part of an exchange, but for some reason this was done in two separate actions and recorded in two different documents. There is no doubt, however, that Rievaulx's involvement in the Bolton hospital was a direct result of Robert II de Ros's patronage over these houses.

On one level Rievaulx Abbey and the other monastic houses discussed here were just like any other neighbours engaging from time to time in conflicts about borders and common pastures. On another level Rievaulx's relationship with its monastic neighbours differed from those with lay neighbours because all of them were part of the larger body of the Church. Therefore conflicts between Rievaulx and Byland or Fountains were not only disputes over borders, but also conflicts within the Cistercian order. If a conflict was not promptly resolved the Chapter General, a bishop or even the pope could intervene. In the same way the monasteries could rely on help from their superiors in the ecclesiastical hierarchy if they could not put an end to a dispute. Thus, the majority of conflicts never reached the royal courts.

But these contacts between different monastic houses were also, to a large extent, the result of links with lay neighbours. The distribution of monastic lands was the product of various factors: most decisively, the willingness of lay people to become patrons and benefactors. This quest for land created competition between houses and formed relationships which might never have come into being without lay involvement. Ultimately, conflicts, negotiations and institutional and personal friendships between various monastic houses were part of a much wider network of relationships across families, tenorial groups and church institutions which were intertwined in the system of obligations, dependency and the struggle for land.

⁶⁴. Bodl. L., Dodsw. MSS, vii, fol. 102.

⁶⁵. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vii, p. 216.

⁶⁶. Bodl. L., Dodsw. MSS, cxxi, fol. 205.

THE ROMANESQUE MEMORIAL AT CONISBROUGH

By Rita Wood

The individuality of the memorial at Conisbrough is emphasised by comparison with others of its period. The symbolism of the carvings is discussed. Finally, it is suggested that the memorial commemorated the third Earl de Warenne.

Conisbrough has notable twelfth-century remains, most obviously its spectacular and beautiful keep or *donjon* which has recently had its floors and roof restored so that the accommodation is accessible. In the church there is a variety of sculpture which repays close study, most particularly the so-called 'tomb-chest'.¹

Early Medieval Memorials

The monument at Conisbrough has unusual features which make it stand out from all other early medieval memorials. Its chief feature is its dense, irregular decoration (Figs 1, 2).² Early medieval monuments are very varied in form and function, but few approach this in disorderly richness.³ As a group, the survival rate for monuments is lower than for architectural sculpture. Generalisations from those random pieces that remain may therefore be misleading, but it seems to be true that memorials to ecclesiastics were always more plentiful and elaborately carved than those to laymen. The earliest Christian memorials are simple identification slabs, found on monastic sites at Lindisfarne and Whitby. The eighth-century Hedda stone in Peterborough Cathedral imitates a reliquary casket and may have sheltered actual relics. From the Romanesque period, grave slabs for setting into pavement over burials, lids and chests of stone coffins and at least one other solid sarcophagus all survive and most of these are for clergy.

In the twelfth century, the monuments constructed for churchmen were conspicuously ornamental. For example, the Tournai marble slab at Lincoln carved with a Tree of Jesse is thought to have been made for Bishop Alexander some time between 1139 and 1148.⁴ By the early thirteenth century, the tomb of Thomas Becket was developed into an elaborate shrine on two levels.⁵ In contrast, kings and other lay persons of importance were only later provided with the more elaborate forms of memorial. For example, Henry

¹ N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1959, 1967), pp. 166–69, pls 38, 47.

² Fig. 1 is taken from J. Carter, *Ancient Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1791), II, pl. civ.

³ See, for example, L. A. S. Butler, 'Minor Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the East Midlands' *Archaeol. J.*, 121 (1964), pp. 111–53. For changes in fashion, see P. Lasko, 'The Tomb of St. Bernward of Hildesheim', in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. N. Stratford, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 147–52 and pls.

⁴ See G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln: the Sculpture of the Cathedral* (Lincoln, 1988), pp. 93–96, pls 110, 111; E. Schwartzbaum, 'Three Tournai Tombslabs in England', *Gesta*, 20 (1981), pp. 89–97. A Tournai marble slab at Bridlington Priory is illustrated in J. R. Earnshaw, 'Medieval Grave slabs from the Bridlington District', *YAJ*, 42 (1969), p. 334, fig. 1, slab 1.

⁵ Becket's body was first laid in the crypt and thus escaped the fire of 1174. In the 1220s the saint was translated to a new shrine. Both the first tomb with its openings, and the later shrine are pictured in thirteenth-century glass in the Trinity chapel, illustrated in J. Butler, *The Quest for Becket's Bones* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 24, 29, 30. For a reconstruction, see M. Lyle, *Book of Canterbury* (London, 1994), pl. 8b. Compare the mid-twelfth-century shrine of St Melangell, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 82 (1994).



Fig. 1. The memorial as seen in the late eighteenth century.

II, his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine and their son Richard I were all provided with life-size effigies at Fontevrault *c.* 1205, but this was almost a century after an effigy had been made of a bishop of Norwich and fifty years after that for an abbot of Sherborne.⁶ Georges Duby notes that the plain slab provided for Louis VI (died 1137) was followed by extravagant decoration on the tomb of Louis VII (died 1180).⁷ If it follows these trends, the mid-twelfth-century memorial at Conisbrough should commemorate an ecclesiastic, but the amount of fighting depicted on it would indicate otherwise.

The tendency developed in France for the nobility to use one particular site for family burials, and this custom is known in England also. The chapter house of Lewes Priory was the burial-place chosen for many of the de Warenne family, who were founders of the priory and lords of Conisbrough. One of the earliest monuments to an identifiable lay person in England is the grave slab of Gundrada de Warenne, which was found in the chapter house together with the slab for her husband and inscribed lead cists containing the bones of them both.⁸ Gundrada had died in 1085, but her tombstone, in Tournai

⁶ Sir Arthur Clapham has suggested that the slab set in the exterior wall of the north transept was a monument to Herbert de Losinga, bishop from 1091–1119. See N. Pevsner, *North East Norfolk and Norwich* (1962), pp. 212–13 and pl. 40b; J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *Dorset* (1972), pl. 18. The tombs at Fontevrault are illustrated in J. Harvey, *The Plantagenets* (London, 1948), pls 2–5.

⁷ G. Duby, *France in the Middle Ages, 987–1460*, trs. J. Vale (Oxford, 1991), pp. 204–05.

⁸ The restored slab, now in Southover church, Lewes, is 1.935 m long. See S. Macready and F. H. Thompson, *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque* (London, 1986), pl. XLVIa; also item 145 in *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, Arts Council (London, 1984), pp. 181–82. W. H. St John Hope, 'The Architectural History of the Cluniac Priory of Saint Pancras at Lewes', *Archaeol. J.*, 41 (1884), pp. 18–21, presents detailed records of the family's burials in the chapter house. See also R. B. Lockett, 'A Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture from the Cluniac Houses of England', *JBA*, 34 (1971), p. 54.



Fig. 2. The memorial in the mid-twentieth century. Photograph © A. F. Kersting.

marble, dates from about 1145.⁹ The custom of heart burial seems to have come into favour at this time. The heart of a person who died far from home was sealed up in lead and could be taken for burial in another place.¹⁰ If no relic at all was available to the bereaved, a stone naming the dead person might be set up.¹¹ These latter forms would have been most used by the laity.

The stone at Conisbrough has much in common with a monument at Fordwich in Kent.¹² That too is solid and is, or was, of a similar length, but it is taller and narrower from front to back. It is decorated all over except on the back with regular patterns representing the arcades, cornice and slates of a church, and it has the slightly-curved roof-ridge seen on pre-Conquest hogback tombstones.¹³ The Fordwich stone is said to have come from St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury. It could possibly date from 1091, at which time the remains of the early archbishops were ceremonially translated into a new Romanesque church on the abbey site. New shrines may well have been made to cover these important relics.¹⁴ The association of solid memorials with relics and thus the sanctity of the person commemorated, as suggested by the Fordwich and Hedda stones, is perhaps only a consequence of the randomness of survival. The solid stone at Conisbrough has enough motifs of an active, military character to make it inappropriate for a cleric even were all the motifs to have entirely spiritual interpretations.

⁹ A burial ground could be periodically cleared and the bones sorted and stacked in a charnel house or, if of an important person, reinterred with some sort of a memorial. At the Cluniac Priory of Wenlock a crypt on the north side of the nave may have been used as a charnel house.

¹⁰ The body of Richard I was at Fontevrault, but his heart was left to Rouen Cathedral. See also C. A. Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933). A. A. R. Gill, 'Heart Burials', *Proc. Yorks. Archit. and York Archaeol. Soc.*, 2.4 (1936), pp. 3–18, suggests a box such as the ivory casket in the York Minster collection might have been used to transport a heart, and says the Society of Antiquaries in 1936 pronounced it thirteenth-century Sicilian work. *A History of York Minster*, ed. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), III, pl. 3, also illustrates the casket, which 'may have been brought from Sicily by St. William in 1148'.

¹¹ Vikings who were buried in England were commemorated by a runestone set up in Sweden, see *The Vikings in England*, ed. E. Roesdahl *et al.* (London, 1981), p. 185, item L11.

¹² *Archaeol. J.*, 2nd series, 36, 1929 (1930) 'Excursions of the Society', pp. 198–200, with measured drawing by R. E. M. Wheeler. See also S. E. Rigold in *Fordwich, the Lost Port* (Ramsgate, 1975), pp. 131–32. The piece is about 1.76 m (6 ft) long, allowing for some loss from one end.

¹³ Compare the earlier Northallertonshire hogback tombs with their shingled roofs, as well as a church-like tomb in Sweden, illus. in G. de Champeaux and S. Sterckx, *Le Monde des Symboles* (La Pierre qui Vire, 1989), pl. 43.

¹⁴ Similar shrines are shown in a fifteenth-century drawing of the east end of the Abbey church, Trinity Hall Library, Cambridge, MS 1, fol. 63^r; see R. Gameson, *Saint Augustine of Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1997), pp. 24, 36.

The density and variety of the carving at Conisbrough is unusual on a memorial at this, or perhaps any, date. The area of figurative carving on this piece is almost as much as on some of the Yorkshire School doorways.¹⁵ The styles of the individual motifs are exceptionally mixed, even for Yorkshire. Their placement is disorderly when compared with, for example, the slab at St Peter's, Northampton, which is similarly densely carved.¹⁶ The most obvious example of this disregard for regularity in the Conisbrough stone is in the two rows of medallions on the top slopes. They do not run the full length of the stone, nor are they evenly paired. It is the marked disorder in style and layout which is the most peculiar and distinctive thing about the Conisbrough memorial. It does not look like any other memorial, whether for clergy or laity. It is unrelievedly 'busy' and lacks the quietness and reassuring certainty of pattern. Solemnity and order would usually be required of tomb sculpture.

Brief history and description of the memorial at Conisbrough

The sculpture dates the work to the middle decades of the twelfth century. At present, the stone is supported on two concrete blocks in the south aisle of the church near the pulpit, but when it was first published by John Carter it was shown in the churchyard with grass growing round it (Fig. 1). The present condition of the carving accords with this, for the top is so worn that none of the original surface remains — the block could have served as a seat in the churchyard for many years. The foot end appears to have been accidentally chamfered, as the medallions at the angle are interrupted whereas a continued series of medallions would fit the full length neatly (Fig. 12). Loss along the bottom edges is likely to have been a result of the block standing on wet ground or its being prised up and moved. There are places at the head and foot where transverse wavy lines may indicate a weakness in the block. These lines can be made out in the photographs which illustrate this paper (Figs 8, 11, 12).

Carving covers the vertical front face and the sloping top, but there is none on the two ends or the back. The decoration is tightly confined within straight borders. Each of the three faces seems to have had a roll moulding outlining it, of which remnants survive, for example, above the head of the mask in Fig. 4. Running the length of the top between the two sloping faces is a broader plain band about 5 cm wide, down which there was at one time, no doubt, an inscription. A general idea of the figurative diversity of the sculpture is quickly gained, but a description and analysis of its detail must rely on close inspection of the surface and comparisons with other works of the period. For this piece, even more than for others in Yorkshire, photography gives the general picture but must be supplemented by the tracing of individual motifs.

The Magnesian Limestone block is approximately 1.76 m long by 0.6 m wide and 0.4 m high at the head end, and with the front face 0.35 m high.¹⁷ Like most contemporary flat slabs, it is coffin-shaped, that is, it tapers to the foot. The usual stones for building and carving were much smaller than this, more of a size which one man could carry, while lintels at the castle, dating from 1170–80, were not in one piece but joggled. The stone would weigh at least 800 kg. Sourcing, cutting and transporting this block must therefore have been individually organised but, on the other hand, the church is con-

¹⁵ A variety of figurative motifs were used in the 1150s and 1160s. See G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1953).

¹⁶ See *English Romanesque Art*, item 142, p. 180 and colour plate, 62. This slab may have been a cover for a stone coffin because it has decoration remaining on one edge. It is 1.37 m long and dates from c. 1140.

¹⁷ The Tournai marble slab at Lincoln is 1.99 m long. A Tournai marble slab at Rand (Lincs) is 2.06 m long. It is dated to c. 1200 by N. Pevsner and J. Harris, *Lincolnshire: Lindsey* (1964), p. 338, and to 1300–25 by Butler. The decoration, of formalised arcading, is twelfth-century in nature.

veniently-placed on the outcrop of the limestone. It was thought by Canon Raine that the monument had been the lid of a stone coffin, which would imply that the object is incomplete, but that is not likely. At about 0.4 m high, the stone is much thicker than the slab at Northampton, which is only 0.16 m thick but which probably served as a lid. The lids of Roman coffins, many of which can be seen in York, are very bulky, but even in these the average lid is only 0.25 m deep. However, it was probably the coped top of a Roman coffin to which Raine compared the Conisbrough stone, and which led him to think that there must have been an even larger chest to match. The memorial at Conisbrough is neither lid, chest nor grave-slab, but is actually sufficient in itself to give the impression of a complete coffin.¹⁸ It would seem to have functioned as a cenotaph.

Relationship of the memorial to other work surviving at Conisbrough and locally

The medallions are the most obvious feature linking this piece to the Yorkshire School.¹⁹ Carter's plate shows that there were at one time leafy sprigs clearly to be seen in the spaces between them, and these can still be detected. This ornament is like that made under Cluniac influence at Fishlake (12 miles away) and at Malmesbury in Wiltshire.²⁰ A second leaf form is also common in work of the School. On the other hand, the simple figures of the bishop, knight and dragon on the vertical face belong to an older, local tradition. The dragon's head is very like one on a tympanum at Austerfield (9 miles east of Conisbrough) which would probably date from early in the first half of the century. This survival of an earlier style suggests a date for the memorial not too late in the sequence of works that may be related to the Cluniac designer in Yorkshire. Conisbrough was the senior church belonging to Lewes priory in the area. Work would therefore probably have been begun soon after the Cluniac priory at Pontefract was refurbished, and it is known that a rededication took place there in 1159.

Other remains in the church suggest that much more sculpture once existed.²¹ The twelfth-century chancel is gone, apart from imposts with simple 'lozenges' on the chancel arch, and these may be compared to a string-course seen in the vestry at Knaresborough church where the chancel is said to date from the first half of the twelfth century. An undated sculptured relief is reset in the porch. In the past, this piece has been described by several authorities as possibly of the Roman period, but it could equally well be twelfth-century as there are strong similarities with works of the Yorkshire School.²² Bold and skilful capitals of the north and south arcades date from a little later than the monument. There is a fragment with foliage, reused in the present south wall, which looks rather like the capitals of the north arcade.²³ At the porch, both the doorway and outer arch have been heavily restored, but original elements incorporated in them suggest

¹⁸. Canon J. Raine, *Assoc. Archit. Socs. Reports and Papers*, ix (1867), p. 70, remarked that 'it has served as the lid of a stone coffin, which must have been of a very ponderous description to bear such a weight upon it'. The interior of a twelfth-century stone coffin is shown in G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral* (Lincoln, 1964), pl. 36a. For Roman sarcophagi in York, see J. Lang, *York and Eastern Yorkshire*, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, III (Oxford, 1991), pp. 76–77, illus. 176–86. For wooden coffins, see P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (London, 1969), illus. p. 186 (burials at Tournai).

¹⁹. They are also seen at Alne, Brayton, Birkin, Fishlake and St Margaret, Walmgate, York.

²⁰. See R. Wood, 'Malmesbury Abbey: the sculpture of the South Entrance', *Wilts. Archaeol. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, 91 (1997), pp. 42–56; 'The Romanesque Doorway at Fishlake', *YAJ*, 72 (2000), pp. 17–39.

²¹. For a full description of the architectural history of the church, see P. F. Ryder, *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire*, South Yorkshire County Archaeology Service (1982).

²². The piece measures 0.59 m wide, 0.74 m high and the relief is excavated 0.13 m at its maximum. See P. F. Ryder, 'St Peter's Church, Conisbrough', *Proceedings of 1980 Meeting, Archaeol. J.*, 137 (1980), p. 415. Opinion among archaeologists since this meeting has favoured a Romano-British date. Research is in hand to resolve the question before decay becomes too advanced.

²³. Thanks to Tony Greathead for pointing this out to me.

a date of 1180–1200. The remains at the church therefore indicate several phases of work in the twelfth century.

Sculpture at the castle is accessible now that floors and a roof have been inserted, but it does not amount to more than minor decoration of the lord's personal accommodation — capitals on the fireplaces, capitals and bosses in the tiny chapel, and arched niches in various places. These would probably date from around 1180. After the donjon, walls surrounding the bailey and then perhaps a hall and lesser buildings were constructed in stone. In Earl Hamelin's days, from his marriage to the heiress, probably in 1164, to his death in 1202, the castle too must have been alive with stonemasons and sculptors.²⁴

The setting of the monument

It is now possible to consider the site for which the memorial was intended. The disposition of the carving suggests that the piece was intended to be set with the blank faces against walls, and it was therefore almost certainly inside the church. The memorial could have been within an alcove or in an opening cut through a wall, and raised on some sort of base to the height of perhaps three or four courses to set off the carving. The 'coffin' would have been placed with the head end to the west as was customary — in this way the dead person faced east, ready for the dawn of the general resurrection. The tomb was therefore positioned somewhere on the north side of the church, which probably did not yet have the arcades.²⁵ The history of the building in these areas is uncertain. Peter Ryder was primarily concerned with discovering the form of the Anglo-Saxon church, but he notes a few details which may be relevant to the present enquiry. Firstly, fifteenth-century enlargements destroyed a chancel which seems to have been about 5 m square. This is a space comparable to the twelfth-century presbytery at Birkin near Knottingley or Steetley in Derbyshire, and there would have been room for a tomb in its north wall. Secondly, there seems to have been a complex building history on the north wall of the old nave. Ryder suggests that, later, 'the twelfth-century builders may have been happy to utilise both (north) porticus and (adjacent) chamber as part of their aisle'. It therefore seems likely that there were spaces off the main church in this area which would have been ideal for placing an important tomb. Whether such an ancient fabric would have been retained into the late medieval period, or whether only the tomb was removed at an early date, cannot be determined, for the restorers in 1866 widened the north aisle, sweeping away the late twelfth-century wall and any other remains in this area. We know from Carter's drawing that the tomb was outside by the late eighteenth century, and that Sir Stephen Glynne in 1853 found it in the nave.²⁶

Discussion of the symbolism of the carvings

This section attempts to describe the various motifs and to interpret them as they are commonly used in the mid-twelfth century. The carvings are discussed starting with the

²⁴ H. Sands and H. Braun, 'Conisbrough and Mortemer', *IAJ*, 32 (1936), pp. 146–59; M. W. Thompson, *Conisbrough Castle: official guide book*, 2nd edn (1977); S. Johnson, *Conisbrough Castle, South Yorkshire* (post 1988).

²⁵ Examples of alcoves for tombs are at St Agatha's, Easby, North Riding, see P. Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, 1987), pl. 30; and at Eberbach Abbey, see A. Dimier, *L'Art Cistercien* (La Pierre qui vire, 1971), 2, pl. 27. A similar alcove is carved at Autun, see D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus. Sculptor of Autun* (London, 1961), p. 148 and pl. V, opp. p. 161 and pl. R, between pp. 34–59. Selby Abbey has tombs placed in the openings of the nave arcades.

²⁶ Ryder, 'St Peter's Church', especially pp. 409, 411, 413; Sir Stephen Glynne described the relevant parts in 1853, see 'Notes on Yorkshire Churches', *IAJ*, 14 (1897), p. 338; faculty papers 1866/2 at the Borthwick Institute contain only a plan of the works proposed, not the pre-restoration plan mentioned in Ryder, *Saxon Churches*.

vertical face, then the front of the top and then the back, and from head to foot on each face.

1. Carvings on the vertical face (Fig. 3)

This side is naturally the first to be seen on approaching the memorial. It has several bold images which must have been of primary significance and are still quite easily distinguished. At the head end is a mask with foliage (Fig. 4). Mask, leaves and stems are in a style typical of the bulk of Yorkshire School work. The motif is symmetrical if viewed from the side, and presumably was placed sideways to give the space necessary for the generous extension of the leafing trails which issue from the open toothless mouth of the mask. Masks have a malevolence which is intuitively recognised: in contrast, the abundant foliage should be seen as representing eternal life. This combination of symmetrical foliage with a toothless mask is therefore a symbol of life after death. Elsewhere in the Yorkshire School the motif appears on voussoirs, but here on the memorial, where the theme is most relevant, it can spread large in the prime position.²⁷

To the right of the mask emitting foliage, the rest of this face was carved by a local craftsman who worked in the earlier tradition. The first of his subjects was a representation of a bishop (Fig. 5). There are several other carvings of a bishop in works of the Yorkshire School, but this one is by far the most archaic. The drawing by J. R. Allen²⁸ records that a chasuble was worn, though this is hardly visible now. The bishop is the simplest of figures, entirely concerned with giving a blessing. It is as if the tomb is blessed, the dead person commemorated is blessed, by this authoritative presence. Such mixing of a primitive form with an up-to-date fashion for medallions and foliage is especially noticeable in the extensive schemes made under Cluniac influence, but illustrates a general attitude. Men of differing ability and training were often employed on the same work with little thought for aesthetic purity: the mixing of styles is also seen on doorways at Fishlake and at Barton-le-Street.

Immediately to the right of the bishop is a form which might be read as a font or a chalice. While it resembles, for example, the font carved on the font at Darenth, Kent, a font is not relevant on a memorial. The form is more appropriately interpreted as a chalice. Those chalices which have survived are almost all relatively small and have an open bowl. These were the type used by the priest for the consecration, whereas the present example has the form of a chalice used to communicate a large congregation. A small amount of the consecrated wine was poured from the priest's chalice into wine waiting in the large cup, which was then used to administer the sacrament to the congregation generally.²⁹ The form of this larger cup differed in that it could be provided with two handles for stability; or it could be deeper, more beaker-shaped.³⁰ Of the two-handled form, the eighth-century Ardagh chalice survives, while of the taller sort there is the eighth-century Tassilo chalice given to the monastery at Kremsmünster (Upper Austria)³¹ and an illustration of the chalice of St Eligius, made for the Abbey of Chelles (Seine-et-Marne) in the seventh century.³² In some lights, traces can be seen of the knop, the ring

²⁷. Masks at Birkin, Stillingfleet and Riccall can be seen to have this meaning. See R. Wood, 'Before the Green Man', *Medieval Life*, 14 (Autumn 2000), pp. 8–13. Similar clasps binding foliage stems are used at Healaugh and Barton-le-Street. For the Northampton slab, see *English Romanesque Art*, item 142.

²⁸. J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism* (London, 1887), p. 270, fig. 94.

²⁹. For illustration of the detail at Darenth, see R. Wood, 'Real People in English Romanesque Sculpture', *Medieval Life*, 11 (Summer 1999), p. 12. For chalices, see J. Gilchrist, *Anglican Church Plate* (London, 1967), p. 14.

³⁰. Theophilus gives instructions for making small and large chalices, using from two to ten marks of silver. See *De Diversis Artibus*, ed. and trans. C. R. Dodwell (London, 1961), pp. 74–109.

³¹. See C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: a new perspective* (Oxford, 1982), colour plate H.

³². Illustrated in J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W. F. Vollbach, *Europe in the Dark Ages* (London, 1969), fig. 264.

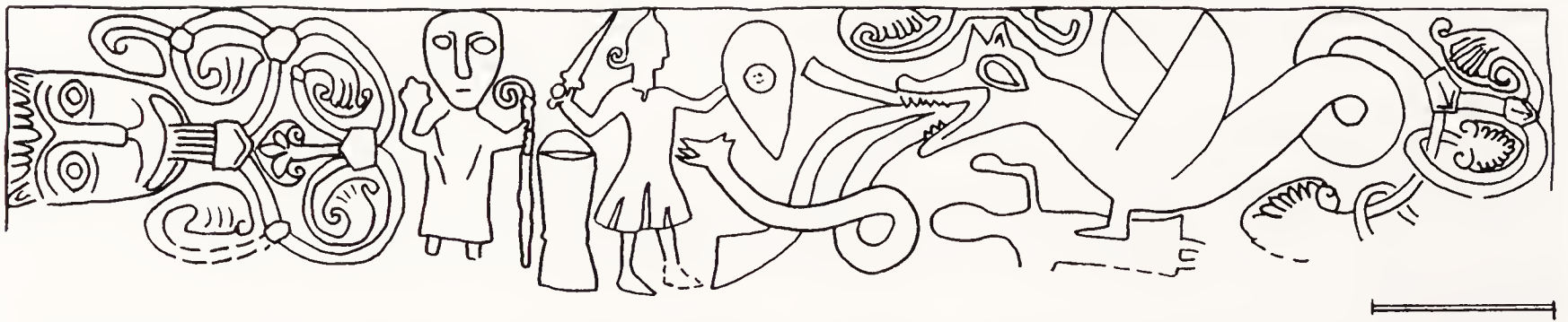


Fig. 3. Diagram showing the vertical face of the memorial. From tracings. Scale bar is 200 mm.

or ledge where the cup meets the foot and which provided a grip for the priest. The hollowed-out segment above the rim derives from a convention seen, for example, in the Old English Hexateuch, where men at a feast hold homely beakers drawn in a sort of cubist perspective.³³ Add to this conventional outline the medieval statement that a cylinder is 'a square with a semi-circle on top' and perhaps we need seek no further for an explanation of the segment.³⁴ The chalice might seem to be an attribute of the bishop, but no other carving of a bishop in Yorkshire is accompanied by one. The chalice is better read as a comment on the dragon fight to its right, and the reasons for this are given below.

The scene of a man fighting a dragon occupies more than half the vertical face, and must clearly be of major importance in the whole monument. The dragon has one foot on a prostrate figure (Fig. 6). The armed man is wearing a pointed helmet³⁵ and a short tunic which is probably of mail, since it is split for riding. At the centre of his shield, almost exactly at the centre of this face, is a small circular area with a central projection, but no detail is certain in it.³⁶ The dragon has sharp teeth, in contrast to the toothless mask already discussed, and it breathes out three long tongues, attacking the man at more points than he can protect. The drawing by J. R. Allen shows a smaller dragon head on each of the three tongues, but only one of these is now clear — however, Allen also shows no helmet on the armed man and the prostrate figure as complete. There are numerous early twelfth-century examples of dragon-fights from places in the former Danelaw. Several dragons surround an armed man with a cross on his shield on the font at Thorpe Arnold, Leicestershire.³⁷ A dragon with double, barbed tongue averts its head in defeat from the resurrected Christ, shown as Jonah, on the tympanum over the west doorway at Long Marton, Westmoreland. An armed man fights a dragon with a barbed tongue on the lintel at Ault Hucknall, Nottinghamshire, and between this man and the dragon stands an altar cross: this example clearly defines the dragon-fight as a symbolic Crucifixion.³⁸ The man with a sword at Conisbrough is popularly interpreted as St George, but in the twelfth century in England that saint is pictured with Crusaders around him, probably commemorating his appearance at Antioch in 1097,³⁹ whereas the

³³. See R. Gameson, *The Rôle of Art in the late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1955), pl. 14.

³⁴. Isidore of Seville, quoted by R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', *JWCI*, 5 (1942), p. 7.

³⁵. Compare Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, pl. 19, a carving at Clermont. These helmets have knobs on top.

³⁶. A prominent boss on a shield at Riccall has the form of a faceted cross, rather like a 'dogtooth'. In some lights, and some photographs, a cross like this might be supposed in the shield on the memorial.

³⁷. See A. H. Collins, *Symbolism of Animals and Birds represented in English Church Architecture* (London, 1913), pl. 60a.

³⁸. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 366, fig. 137.

³⁹. On the tympanum at Fordington, Dorset. See also R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Doorway at Foston', *Yorks. Phil. Soc. Annual Rept. for the year 1996* (York, 1997), pp. 70, 72. St George with the Dragon became popular following the *Golden Legend*, see L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, III, *Iconographie des Saints*, vol. G-O (Paris, 1958), p. 576.



Fig. 4. The mask and foliage, viewed from the side to demonstrate the symmetry. This and all subsequent photographs are by John McElheran.



Fig. 5. The bishop, the chalice and the knight facing the dragon.

dragon fight, or the fight of centaur and dragon,⁴⁰ is a reference to the Crucifixion, the archetypal spiritual battle. It is for this reason that the chalice should be seen as belonging with this portion of the imagery and not to the bishop: it echoes the chalice at the foot of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon drawings.⁴¹

The foliage which forms the dragon's tail is noticeably asymmetric. It can be understood as representing created order distorted by sin or death, and it thus contrasts in form and in meaning with the symmetrical foliage at the other end of this face. Asymmetry in foliage is also seen at Fishlake, Riccall, Healaugh and Barton-le-Street. The small piece of foliage above the head of the dragon is probably intended as symmetrical and as an indication of a heavenly power which is also concerned in the fight. The indistinct figure under the foot of the dragon is a layman wearing a gown reaching to mid-calf, both his arms, presumably, held up in appeal. His prayer is answered: he will be rescued by the knight, who symbolises Christ as Saviour. He will have — perhaps is being promised by the bishop — forgiveness of his sins and life after death. The prone figure is in a sense 'Everyman' but was no doubt also intended as the individual for whom the tomb was made. This group, of warrior, dragon and victim, is repeated at Steetley chapel,

⁴⁰. As at Fishlake.

⁴¹. For example, E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066* (London, 1976), ill. 171: Pierpont Morgan Lib. 869, fol. 9^v.



Fig. 6. The head of the dragon, with his victim underfoot.

Derbyshire, on a capital of the chancel arch, but with the striking exception that the person under the dragon's foot is a woman.⁴² A small leafing tree there gives the promise of everlasting life.

2. Carvings on the front slope of the top (Fig. 7)

At the head end is a combat between mounted knights, (Fig. 8, left). The one on the right has just unseated his opponent, who falls backwards, pierced through by the lance. A similar pair of knights is found on a capital at Fishlake, where the condition of the carving is slightly better but the left-hand figure is almost entirely concealed by the wall of a later porch. At both sites only the right hand knight seems to have a lance, and his shield is not apparent, probably due to wear. The lance is held overarm as an athlete holds a javelin: the fashion of couched lances was coming in during the twelfth century.⁴³ The inside of the shield of the unseated knight is seen and is concave, round and probably not kite-shaped. Below this knight's right side is perhaps a broken pennant. The Fishlake carving, it has been suggested, shows a battle between 'kings of the earth' at the end of the world, illustrating Revelation 19.19.⁴⁴ More commonly in the twelfth century, this imagery would illustrate battles of Crusaders with Muslims. It is said to be a 'conventional

⁴² Steetley is about three miles west of Worksop (GR 543 788). Throughout the interior of this tiny chapel almost every carving has its fellow somewhere in the Yorkshire School. See Lysons's *Magna Britannia* (1818), v; J. C. Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, 4 vols (Chesterfield, 1875-79), 1, pp. 399-402, 475-76. The doorway had one order and a gable added during the restoration by J. L. Pearson in 1880.

⁴³ Compare a well-preserved combat across three voussoirs at Brayton: knights have lances couched, carry kite-shaped shields and wear calf-length coats of mail.

⁴⁴ Wood, 'Fishlake', p. 37.

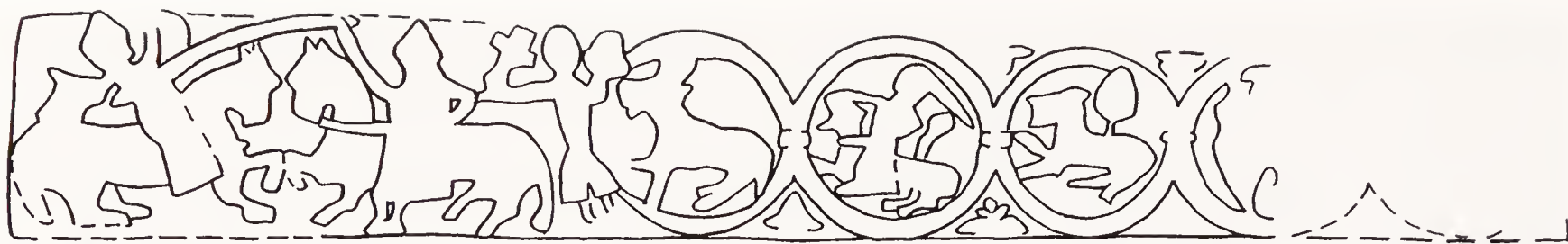


Fig. 7. Diagram of the front slope of the top of the memorial. From tracings.



Fig. 8. The mounted knights; the thin man and the beast in the first medallion.

compositional type' describing a crusader fight.⁴⁵ The round shield is often carried by Muslim warriors.⁴⁶ It is possible, but not shown in the diagram, that the right-hand knight wore a 'volant'. This is a flap of cloth to keep the hot sun off the back of the neck and is particular to the depiction of Crusaders.

Immediately to the right of this combat, a thin figure is squeezed in between the back of the horse and an advancing animal with a large head and its mouth open (Fig. 8, right). The medallion encircling the animal is not complete on the side next to the man so they appear to confront one another quite violently. The man is dressed in a split tunic, and seems to be bare-headed. He holds both arms aloft, carrying faintly-seen objects, but not weapons. Although the mounted knights would have been seen as actual combatants in a historical sense, it is clear that the 'unarmed' man and the unreal beast are to be understood as fighting in a spiritual sense. Their confrontation therefore has much in common with the dragon-fight on the face below, and it would be reasonable to think that it also represents Christ confronting Death.⁴⁷

The objects held aloft are now little more than traces, variations of colour in the surface rather than changes in level (Figs 1, 2, 7, 8), but they could possibly have been a cross and a trefoil or foliage of some sort. As such, they do not have any close parallel with other carvings of the Yorkshire School, except in the apex of the doorway at Fishlake, where old photographs show Christ enthroned and holding a cross-sceptre in his right hand, with the usual book in his left. There are several Irish high crosses which show

⁴⁵ E. A. R. Brown and M. W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-century Crusaders' Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis', *JWCI*, 49 (1986), pp. 1-40, pls 1-12.

⁴⁶ See L. Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis*, 1 (Paris, 1976), pp. 214-15. A sculptural comparison is with the tympanum at Damerham, Wiltshire, where the man on the ground holds an axe and seems to have a round shield; the horseman has a sword and a kite-shaped shield.

⁴⁷ For examples of a large-headed animal, perhaps an ox, representing Death, see A. Baker, 'Lewes Priory and the early group of wall paintings in East Sussex', *Walpole Society*, 30 (1942-43), pp. 10-11, 14. For her later assessment of the scheme, see A. Baker, 'The Wall Paintings in the Church of St. John the Baptist, Clayton', *Sussex Archaeological Collection*, 108 (1970), pp. 58-81.

Christ holding two sceptres, a cross-sceptre and a sceptre with a leafing double-spiral, and Peter Harbison states that this is always in scenes of the Last Judgment.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the two sceptres are used separately as emblems in other sources.⁴⁹ Yves Chrste⁵⁰ derives the cross-sceptre from classical forms indicating sovereignty, Helen Roe⁵¹ sees the 'Flowering Rod' as an emblem of Christ's eternal priesthood and Françoise Henry⁵² interprets the 'sprouting bough' as a symbol of resurrection. These various characteristics, of kingship, priesthood and transcendent life, are all attributed to Christ after his victorious Ascension. At Fishlake, Christ holds the cross-sceptre at his coming for the millennial reign, not for Judgment. On the early twelfth-century tympanum at Ault Hucknall, Derbyshire, a centaur, robed and girdled as a priest, holds a stem of foliage and a cross-staff: he represents the victorious and ascended Christ.⁵³ In the twelfth century, the two sceptres do not belong to the iconography of Judgment but were in some sense emblems of Christ's eternal power. It is with these signs of power that Christ confronts Death in the carving at Conisbrough. His victory is pictured as assured and final, unlike the fight between the man and the dragon on the vertical face, where the emphasis is on the cost to the rescuer, as shown by the chalice.⁵⁴

The next medallion has Samson and the lion, which is a type of the Harrowing of Hell, Christ's deliverance of the righteous dead from Hades (Fig. 9, left). The third medallion has a lion with tufted tail curled over its back, this is quite a common symbol of Christ or God in the Yorkshire School carvings and elsewhere (Fig. 9, right). The next medallion is now illegible but according to Carter it contained a wyvern. This was a motif used to picture the bestiary Snake, that is, a creature renewed by the shedding of its old skin, and therefore another image of resurrection.⁵⁵ The content of the last medallion is completely unknown.

3. Carvings on the back slope of the top (Fig. 10)

At the head end stand Adam and Eve, with the tree in which the serpent is twisted. The design seems to have been developed within two circles, as if a full row of eight medallions had originally been envisaged on this face. Adam is on the right and holds a fruit, while Eve, with long hair, is taking one from the serpent (Fig. 11, right). They both also hold leaves, a conflation of the narrative in Genesis 3. The tree has fruit like cherries, a common enough form, but one which is also found at Steetley and Riccall. It was as a consequence of the Fall that man was turned out of Paradise and became subject to Death. Because of the loss of detail, the remainder of this face cannot be given any useful interpretation. The two medallions next to Adam and Eve contain centaurs which are almost mirror images of each other (Fig. 11, left). This is unusual, and no relevant meaning can be suggested except that a single centaur can represent the Crucifixion and

⁴⁸ P. Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland: an Iconographical and Photographic Survey* (Bonn, 1992), p. 297, figs 938, 939, 940, 943.

⁴⁹ Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 168–69, points out that it is not only Christ who may carry these emblems. For example, in the Lichfield Gospels, St Luke holds both, and in the Book of Kells angels sometimes hold a foliate sceptre.

⁵⁰ Y. Chrste, *La Vision de Matthieu* (Paris, 1973), p. 55 etc.

⁵¹ H. M. Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells* (Moattown, 1959), p. 22. No source is given for this interpretation.

⁵² F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions* (London, 1967), p. 164. See also F. Henry, *The Book of Kells* (London, 1974), pp. 190–91, where a link is postulated via the Coptic church to Osiris, the Egyptian god with two sceptres, a god who dies and revives and is the judge of the dead.

⁵³ For the Ault Hucknall tympanum, see Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, fig. 137.

⁵⁴ Compare the keys and crozier held by a seated figure at Barton-le-Street. These are sceptre-like emblems which show the power of the Church.

⁵⁵ J. Holli Wheatcroft, 'Classical Ideology in the Medieval Bestiary' in *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. D. Hassig (New York, 1999), pp. 141–59; also T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts* (1954, reprinted Bath, 1984), p. 187.

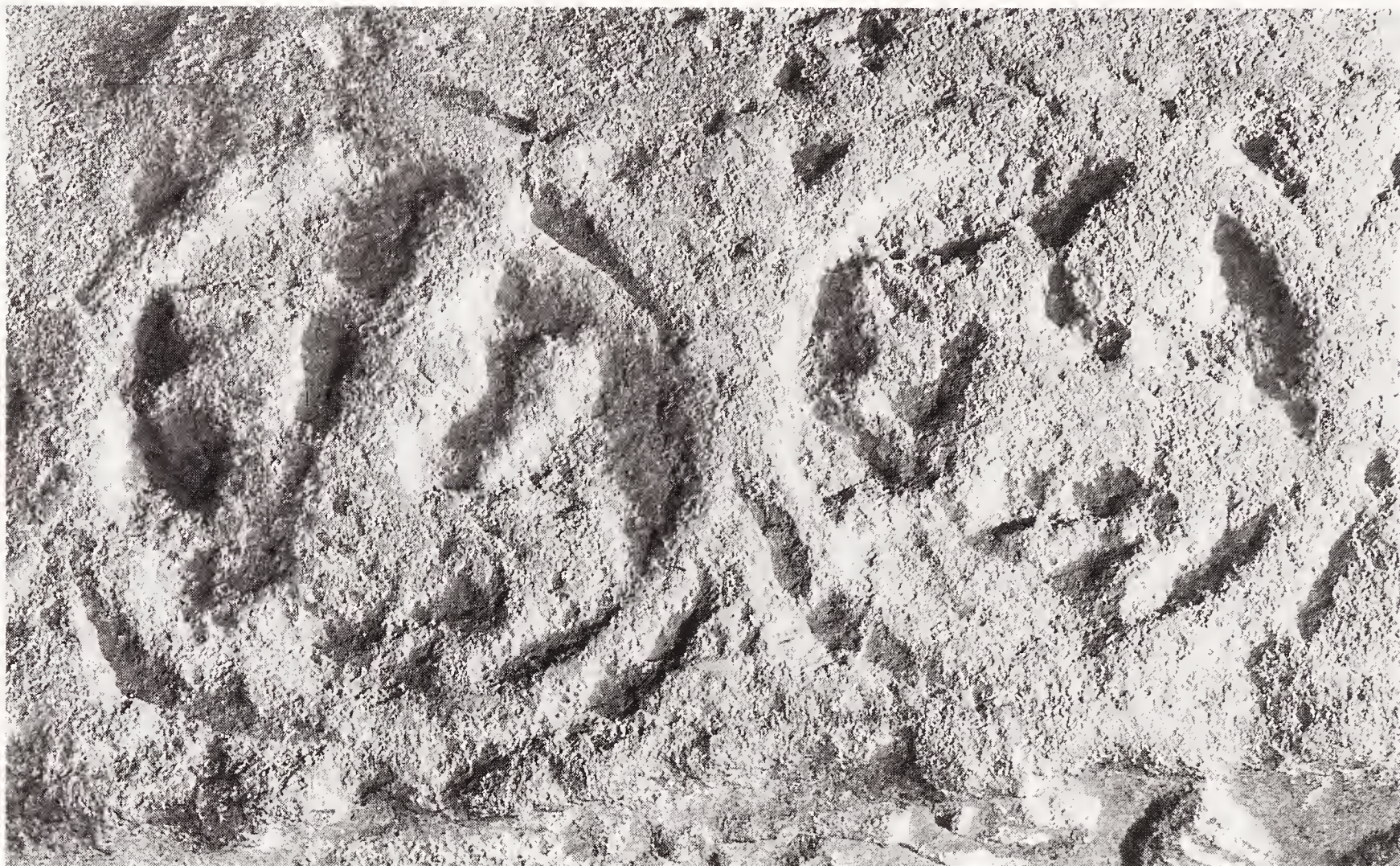


Fig. 9. Samson astride the lion; a lion with a bushy tail.

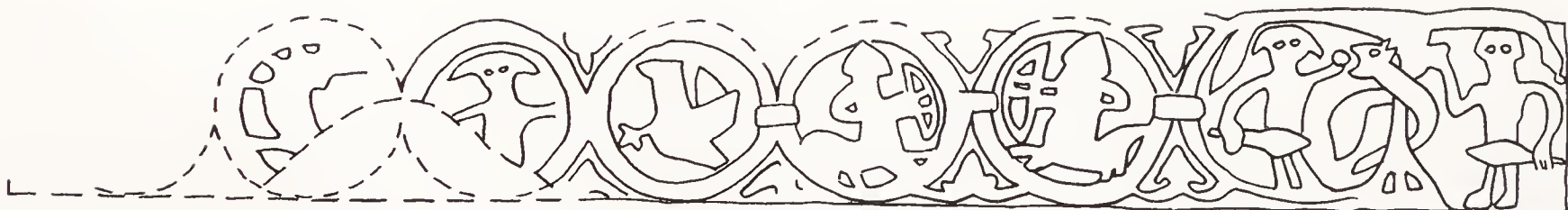


Fig. 10. Diagram of the back slope of the top of the memorial. From tracings.



Fig. 11. Two centaurs; Eve, the snake in the tree and Adam.

Harrowing of Hell. Next is a bird;⁵⁶ then a medallion with part only of a female figure remaining; there is another medallion with its carving now indistinct, and the last one is lost entirely (Fig. 12). The medallions decrease in diameter towards the foot in an orderly manner as the stone itself narrows, but they do not pair evenly with the series on the front slope due to the extensive battle scenes there.

The most developed and significant carvings were probably those on the vertical face, but the two subjects at the head end of the top — the battle scenes and the Fall — would naturally be the most important in their respective fields. The motifs that are decipherable are particularly suited for use on a memorial, most of them being concerned with death, redemption and eternal life. Following the description and interpretation of the carvings in a general way, it is now possible to see if they can reliably suggest anything about the one who was commemorated by the monument.

Suggestion as to the person commemorated

Some of the motifs on this memorial are unusual, and all are economically rather than artistically arranged: but when content is considered, the motifs are not inappropriate. There is some similarity with the Northampton slab, which would also seem to be for a layman to judge by the bearded face at the focus of the design. On both, the motifs include foliage trails of some symmetry or regularity. The Northampton slab has a smiling lion and an equal-armed cross pattern at the head, with another lion, a wyvern and an antlered hart towards the foot — these three placed so that they can be 'seen' by the man.⁵⁷ All these are standard motifs suggestive of paradise. At Conisbrough, no trace remains of the dedicatory inscription but, even so, a few conclusions can be drawn as to the dedicatee. The memorial does not appear to be the tomb of an ecclesiastic. There are four fights — the mounted knights, the man on foot confronting the beast, Samson and the lion, and the knight and the dragon⁵⁸ — and at least the first of these would have been thought of as an actual physical fight, whatever its precise meaning. This certainly suggests that a layman rather than a priest was commemorated: the tall chalice, and the dress of the man under the foot of the dragon tell us that too. 'In the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, burials within churches were relatively few in number, as this privilege was reserved for founders or benefactors.'⁵⁹ It would certainly be reasonable to look among likely benefactors for a layman worthy of such an expensive tomb.

The most likely patrons at this time were the local baronial family, the de Warennes.⁶⁰ The second Earl had given Conisbrough and its dependent churches to Lewes Priory at some time during the last decade of the eleventh century, and the family still held the ancient site of the castle just a few hundred yards away from the church. It is almost certain that they would have been involved in the donations which paid for the developments at the church in this period. In 1160 — for the sake of argument — the family was represented by the heiress and widow Isabella de Warenne (born sometime between 1142 and 1147 and so a young woman in her mid-to-late teens), and her uncle Reginald. Her mother was still alive but now married to Patrick, Earl of Salisbury. Isabella's first husband, William of Blois, was the younger son of King Stephen, and he had died in 1159. However, his death could hardly be represented as that of a crusader, since it

⁵⁶ The bird's crossed wings, which are like those of the dragon on the front face, recur at Barton-le-Street.

⁵⁷ For the Northampton slab, see *English Romanesque Art*, item 142. For smiling lions, see R. Wood, 'The Lions in the Crypt', *Archaeol. Cantiana* (expected 2001).

⁵⁸ The pair of centaurs on the back slope might also be a battle, if the repeat is not an error.

⁵⁹ J. S. Curl, *A Celebration of Death* (London, 1980), p. 76.

⁶⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography* (1899). See also *Early Yorkshire Charters*, VIII, *The Honour of Warenne*, ed. C. T. Clay (1949).



Fig. 12. General view of the foot of the memorial.

occurred during an expedition against Toulouse, on a territorial adventure of Henry II.⁶¹ William of Blois does not fit the details of the carving nearly so well as Isabella's father, William the third Earl de Warenne, who had died on the way to the Holy Land with the Second Crusade early in 1148. There were few from England on this Crusade but the Earl was no doubt accompanied by some of his knights so that, in theory, any of the party might have been commemorated by this carving. The Earl himself remains the person most likely intended, as will be explained later.

William de Warenne III and the legend of Roland

The connection with crusading can be seen to go deeper than the rather obvious one made by the mounted combat on the front slope of the memorial. There is a striking set of parallels between the circumstances of the death of the third Earl and events in the *Chanson de Roland*, and it will be suggested that two passages from this chanson were chosen to be illustrated in the carving. We are fortunate that two detailed eye witness accounts and several comments in monastic chronicles have survived recording the disasters of the Second Crusade and the fate of William de Warenne in particular.⁶² Briefly, these tell how the Christian army was passing through Asia Minor and was climbing through a mountain pass with the Earl in the rearguard (perhaps in command of it); how a friend of King Louis, called Geoffrey de Rançon, disobeyed orders and took the

⁶¹. Henry found himself confronting his overlord and had to retreat, see F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), p. 57.

⁶². The fullest account is in Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: the Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948). The following sources are listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: Suger, Ep. 39 (a letter from Louis VII) in, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al., xv, pp. 495–96; 'History of the church of Hexham by John the Prior', in *The Church Historians of England*, ed. J. Stevenson, iv, pt 1 (London, 1856), p. 25; *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, 67 (1875), 1, p. 100; *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson, in Bannatyne Club, 49 (1835), p. 73; William of Tyre, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: historiens occidentaux*, I. ii (Paris, 1844), c.25, pp. 747–49.

main body of the army ahead too fast; how the rearguard was left in danger, harassed by Turks and Greeks; how about forty of the royal escort stood their ground and were killed by the Turks while King Louis managed to escape. After this disaster Odo of Deuil says that Geoffrey, who 'had earned our everlasting hatred', was nearly hanged for his disobedience. Earl William is the first name in short lists of the dead given by Odo and King Louis. This series of actual events calls to mind key scenes in the well-known chanson: a Christian army was returning through the pass of Roncevaux after campaigning against the Muslims in Spain; Roland was in command of the rearguard which was wiped out protecting Charlemagne and the main force. Afterwards, the emperor came back to mourn the valiant dead, taking up the bodies for burial in Christian ground,⁶³ and the traitor Ganelon was executed. Contemporary recognition of the close parallels between these two disasters would have exalted the death of William in the eyes of his friends, removing any sense of failure and giving him something of Roland's glory.

In the chanson, the start of the battle at Roncevaux is described as a series of individual contests, almost a tournament, of Christian knights against Muslim champions.⁶⁴ The conventional illustration for these would be a pair of confronted mounted knights as on the monument, so that the knight on the right could be interpreted as Roland/William. However, as stated above, it cannot be certain here that the scene is meant to be particular to the Crusades because the same composition is used at Fishlake with a wider meaning. What can be seen as specific to the chanson is the little scene to the right of this pair of knights, that which has been discussed above as Christ carrying the emblems of power and repulsing Death. If we were to consider the two confrontations together, as one battle (Fig. 8), we would see that the man on foot has interposed himself to protect the mounted knight from the advancing beast. Here it is relevant to quote a few lines from the chanson, Roland's last words, his dying prayer:

God of truth, and not a liar,
who brought back Lazarus from the dead,
and saved Daniel from the lions,
Guard my soul from what lies in wait
for the sins I did in my life.⁶⁵

Veire Paterne, ki unkes ne mentis,
Seint Lazaron de mort resurrexis
E Daniel des leons guaresis,
Guaris de mei l'anme de tuz perilz
Pur les pecchez que en ma vie fis.⁶⁶

The answer to Roland's prayer 'God ... guard my soul from what lies in wait ...' could be pictured by this curious scene of the thin man confronting the large-headed beast. The first line of the passage quoted, which speaks of 'a liar', probably refers to texts in the First Epistle of John.⁶⁷ Forgiveness is granted to those who admit their sins: 'if we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar ...'. A second text is about those who do not believe God raised Christ and offered man eternal life — they are also calling God a liar. In short, God says we have sinned, and God has given us eternal life — once again, the two themes of sin and eternal life that are so often worked into the memorial.

⁶³ The *Chanson de Roland* describes how the bodies of Roland and his companions were opened, their hearts removed and wrapped in silk: 'tuz les quers en paile recueillir' (line 2965).

⁶⁴ For example, lines 1188–1212, Roland rides at and unhorses Aelroth.

⁶⁵ From G. G. King, *The Way of St. James* (New York, 1920), lines 2384–88.

⁶⁶ From *The Song of Roland*, trans. R. Hague (London, 1937), lines 2384–88.

⁶⁷ 1 John 1.9, 10; 5.10, 11.

The man brandishing the postulated cross and foliage sceptres combines the two themes in himself. He represents Christ as, let us say, Lord of Life and Death.

The *Chanson de Roland* was very much in the air at the time the Conisbrough memorial was made. Henry II may have encouraged a new style of poetry with 'chivalric rather than ecclesiastical values',⁶⁸ and the court was sometimes entertained in ways that prompted John of Salisbury to remark that he could only recommend excommunication for those who were corrupting public taste,⁶⁹ but tales of the sanctified Charlemagne and Roland were still popular in court circles. For example, it is thought that it was through Matilda, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, that a text of the chanson arrived in Saxony. She was married to Henry the Lion in 1168, at the age of about twelve.⁷⁰ Another example of the continued popularity of the theme is the Crusaders' window at Saint-Denis, which may date from 1146–48, when Suger was abbot, or from around 1158, when the abbot was Odo of Deuil, the monk who had been chaplain to Louis VII on the ill-fated Second Crusade.⁷¹

Although the rest of the legible imagery seems to be relevant to any tomb, the themes can be seen as particularly related to the crusades. Eternal life and a direct entry to paradise was promised to crusaders if they died in the cause. In the chanson, Archbishop Turpin, exhorting the French before the fatal battle, says 'I shall absolve you to save your souls. If you die you will be holy martyrs. You will have your places in the greatest paradise'.⁷² This text could have been uttered by the figure of the bishop on the vertical face of the memorial and applied to all those who died in the disaster. Before the First Crusade Urban II is reported as promising that 'those who die on the journey or in combat will have full remission of their sins'.⁷³ Bernard's passionate, perhaps we would think hysterical, appeal in 1146 that launched the Second Crusade was heard and answered by a large crowd which included William de Warenne. Bernard promised forgiveness of sins to those who, literally, took the fabric crosses he handed them and confessed their sins. This simplistic *quid pro quo* was romanticised in the legend of the 'leafing lances' by the *Pseudo-Turpin* of about 1147–68. The legend is pictured on a chasse in Aachen Cathedral which was made about 1215.⁷⁴ On one panel a bare-headed, gently-smiling knight is shown rising from sleep; he is holding aloft a lance which sprouts symmetrical foliage all down its shaft. In the centre, Charlemagne is arming for battle; on the right, a group of knights rides off to meet the foe, those with leafing lances to become martyrs, others with plain lances to survive.

The commission to make a memorial at Conisbrough

The known circumstances seem to support the suggested attribution. It is very unlikely that any remains were obtained of those who died in the pass. Had the earl's heart been returned to England, it would probably have been interred at Lewes soon after, but no

⁶⁸ Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, pp. 197–98.

⁶⁹ A. R. Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 102.

⁷⁰ The *Ruolantes Liet*, c. 1170, is thought to be the translation of a text illustrated in England. See R. Lejeune and J. Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages*, trans. C. Trollope (Oxford, 1971), p. 405; also R. Lejeune, 'Rôle littéraire de la famille d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine', *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale*, 1 (1958), pp. 319–37.

⁷¹ Brown and Cothren, *JWCI*, 49, pp. 21–33.

⁷² Hague, *Song of Roland*, p. 42, lines 1133–35.

⁷³ Quoted from Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, p. 109. On the other hand, the Victorines and Pope Eugenius III did not think merely taking the cross was enough to obtain forgiveness, but expected satisfaction, reparation, as a sign of repentance.

⁷⁴ The chasse was for relics of Charlemagne. See D. D. R. Owen, *The Legend of Roland: a pageant of the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), pl. IV.

mention is made of it.⁷⁵ Even if there had been an interment in the family burial place, that would not have precluded the possibility of a more substantial monument being placed at Conisbrough when the opportunity arose. The chance meeting of the family and the Cluniac designer in Yorkshire would have been an ideal opportunity to fill any gap: perhaps this meeting occurred at Pontefract Priory in 1159. There is the possibility that the stone commemorated a companion of the earl, but that it should be placed in a church so close to a major castle of the Warennes still used by the family, and yet not dedicated to William himself seems very unlikely. An important point in favour of the positive attribution to the Earl is that the delay in providing the memorial, from the date of his death in January 1148 to around 1160, corresponds to the childhood and first marriage of Isabella de Warenne. Once she was no longer a minor but a widow with authority, her natural desire for a monument could be acted upon.⁷⁶ At various sites in the south of France and in Spain, depictions of the *chanson* seem to have been used by church or state as publicity for the drive against the Moors.⁷⁷ At Conisbrough, however, it is likely that the inspiration was Isabella's and the motivation personal. Because of her status, she was inevitably involved with life at the court. She would have shared in the literary interests of Queen Eleanor's circle and been familiar with the *chanson*: she could hardly have missed the correspondences in the two lives. Isabella married for her second husband Hamelin Plantagenet, half-brother to Henry II, probably in 1164. If the work was undertaken after this marriage, perhaps Hamelin was pleased to align himself with his new family, and they acted jointly in the matter.⁷⁸

The tomb was to be placed in a church which was under the care of Cluniacs. The general opinion of historians seems to be that Cluny did not preach the crusades actively, as a holy war, like Bernard of Clairvaux did: they continued to hold that the life of the monk was superior to that of the knight.⁷⁹ This is not to say that Cluny disregarded what happened in the secular world, or would have refused to accept the suggestion of a memorial to a Crusader. Whatever the relative degree of gift and obligation involved cannot be known, but the Cluniac designer took charge and converted the monument into a visual aid with characteristic thoroughness. His design does not encourage crusading, but sets out various Christian doctrines on death: what began as a family shrine ended as a memorial with lessons for every visitor. The passing of so many years would have made this development easier than if the memorial had been commissioned soon after the earl's death. The presence of this particular designer-monk goes a long way towards explaining the unusual nature of the decoration. For him, the primary object of

⁷⁵ T. J. Pettigrew, *Chronicle of the Tombs* (London, 1856) p. 250, gives a list of twelfth- and thirteenth-century heart burials including '1147. William, third earl of Warren. He was slain by the Turks, having accompanied the King of France to the Holy Land. His heart was transmitted to England, and deposited in Lewes Priory'. This author gives no sources. The *DNB* cites the Register of Lewes Priory, written in the fourteenth century, which gives the date of death and records that the earl was buried in the Holy Land; the Canterbury and Melrose accounts say that he was taken captive by the Turks and then died, but Louis VII and Odo of Deuil say only that he died. Neither St John Hope nor Lockett mention a memorial to William de Warenne III at Lewes (note 8).

⁷⁶ Isabel is mentioned in a charter of 1159-64 as 'ipsa Isabel comitissa' and 'domina nostra', showing she was in personal possession of the honour at this time (Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, VIII, p. 14).

⁷⁷ Lejeune and Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland*, pp. 29-37. On p. 37, the authors give the example of 'the political activity and literary tastes of the bishop-legat Girard, his work in building the cathedral [of Angoulême] and the period when he lived [which was] the period of the earliest extant version of the *Chanson de Roland*'.

⁷⁸ Several charters of Hamelin were issued jointly with his wife, including one to the chapel of St Philip and St James in the castle of Conisbrough (Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, VIII, p. 20).

⁷⁹ For example, E. Delaruelle, 'The Crusading Idea in Cluniac Literature of the Eleventh Century', in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. N. Hunt (London, 1971), pp. 191-216. See also L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory: the Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981), p. 74, quoting A. Gieysztor.

carving was not to be beautiful but to have significance, and on the monument ultimate order and peace were to be expressed not by simplicity of visual effect, but by a complex symbolism dependent on text and story.

Conclusions

The possibility that the memorial commemorates William III de Warenne must remain speculation, for it depends on the reading of some very worn remains. The suggestion is, however, positively supported at several points by what we know of the historical circumstances. In the course of this paper, a number of features in the sculpture have been likened to other works of the Yorkshire School, some of the motifs being of common occurrence, others less so. The similarities demonstrate the multiplicity of contacts and the fervour of building at this time. One by-product of the present enquiry must surely be a renewed interest in the chapel at Steetley, just inside Derbyshire, and what its historical connections with Conisbrough and the Yorkshire School might have been. Steetley chapel stands alone except for the farm to the east across the lane — apparently a classic example of a lord's house with its chapel. The boundaries of the manor were perhaps those now followed by the county boundaries which nearly enclose it. The site is surely waiting to be investigated at large and in detail.⁸⁰

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A chance cup of tea in the precinct led me to Tony and June Greathead, whose appreciation of the past still present in Conisbrough is an inspiration, and who were of assistance on numerous occasions. My thanks also to Edward Beaumont and to John and Jean McElheran, none of whom wanted to be mentioned.

⁸⁰. For the neighbouring area of the Conisbrough lordships, see D. Hey, *The Making of South Yorkshire* (Ashbourne, 1979), pp. 31–41.

THE BOTHAMLEY COLLECTION

By Emmeline Garnett

The Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand, holds an unexpected collection of estate papers from the North of England, consisting of some 600 separate items in no sort of order, with a brief explanation as to their arrival, but none at all as to their contents. It is called the Bothamley Collection after the name of the depositor, and its rather bizarre history is worth outlining.

The provenance is provided by a small sheaf of correspondence now lodged in the New Zealand National Archives.¹ A memo dated 15 October 1920 from the New Zealand High Commissioner in London to the Prime Minister of New Zealand states that 'Mr Henry H. Bothamley, of the firm of Winter, Bothamley, Wood and Murray, Solicitors, of 16 Bedford Row, and brother to A. T. Bothamley, clerk Assistant to the Legislative Council, has presented a box of deeds'. The copy of a letter from the solicitor to his brother explains:

A few months since a boxfull of old rubbish — papers and deeds — was on Wood's hands. He wanted to get rid of it and as parchment won't burn he asked me whether he should send it to a waste paper dealer ... I have sorted the Deeds according to the estates they referred to ... The British Museum wanted the early Charter and Deeds, and asked me for them, but they have lots similar and I would not scatter the deeds. The Archaeological Society at York would no doubt be glad to have them, but it occurred to me that in our Colonies such things are uncommon, and though of little value may be thought interesting.

After some correspondence the collection was duly exported in the early part of 1921. Again according to Mr Bothamley, 'I wished to send them in a fine iron box in which they came to us but Wood wanted it for himself so I crammed them into one of our old boxes'. The librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library expressed his pleasure in a letter to the Under Secretary of the Department for Internal Affairs. It is clear from this and from the collection itself that he then rearranged at least part of it according to what he thought its use might be:

In England the documents would be valuable from the point of view of local history; here in New Zealand they are more valuable as examples of calligraphy. Some are extremely neat and legible, some extraordinary for their closeness, their flourishes, their illegibility. They are both English and Latin, and the greater number are on parchment. There are a number on paper, however, and these again are most interesting as showing the excellence of the old paper, its toughness and durability, its retention of whiteness; they are interesting for the student in the history of paper-making, including the water-marking of the paper.

In spite of satisfaction expressed at the time, the collection apparently remained forgotten and unused for many years. It resurfaced, so to speak, in 1987, when the library was being packed up to move to new purpose-built accommodation, arousing the interest of an archivist who had himself been born in the North of England and recognised some of the placenames. It seems that at this time the collection was re-sorted yet again, this

¹ National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington, Ref. I.A. 13/27/102.

time by size, into large and small folders to make it easier to transport and store. The process coincided with a holiday visit to Wellington by the present writer, who was allowed to look at as many of the documents as could be managed in a single day. The notes then made were brought back to Britain and after some research the families and estates concerned were roughly identified. Two more holiday visits followed at intervals, but it was not until July 1998 that an extended stay in Wellington, partly funded by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the British Council in New Zealand, allowed the collection to be noted in detail, the notes brought back and a proper calendar constructed. Printed copies of this, with sketch maps, family trees and photographs of the places concerned, are now lodged with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (MS 1672) and the Alexander Turnbull Library.

It may be presumed, since Mr Bothamley says that he sorted the documents more or less into the estates to which they belonged, that there was very little coherent order in the collection when it reached his hands. His statement that 'parchment won't burn' was clearly, from the condition of some of the documents, based on his colleague's practical attempts to get rid of 'the rubbish'. The various rearrangements since have confounded the confusion so thoroughly that it is difficult to find in the final catalogue an example of any two documents following each other sequentially according to their physical positions in the folders.

The documents themselves are of every type that one would expect to find in such a collection: leases and releases, sometimes paired, sometimes with one piece missing, feoffments, bonds, copy wills, probates, recoveries, marriage agreements, quitclaims, copies of court records, memoranda. The dates range from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries, the greatest number being of the seventeenth and eighteenth. The business of sorting was long, complicated and fascinating, and there are still some individual documents and some small groups which have not found any logical place.² It is possible that either before the collection left this country or during the eighty years in New Zealand a few odd homeless documents were thrown in because there was nowhere better for them to go,³ but some later researcher may find undiscovered connecting links. Much of the work needed to find a natural order was internal, provided by the documents themselves. Externally, the most useful information was found in the relevant parish registers and the collections of probate documents in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston and the Borthwick Institute at York.

There are plenty of gaps in the final arrangement. No series of documents in the catalogue completely covers the history of a piece of land from acquisition to abandonment. Nevertheless, we have here an interesting story of the ramifications of a landowning family over several hundred years, its rise from yeoman status to small gentry, and its end. It is perhaps easiest to start at the end of the story, with the landowner whose death led to the break-up of the estate. This was Thomas Mason Johnson, buried at Gargrave, North Yorkshire, in 1873. A bachelor with no nephews or nieces, he left his property to the grandson of an aunt, William Henry Stubbs of Herefordshire. Stubbs's widow later remarried and became Lady Vincent. She and her second husband sold much of the property in 1892, but no details of this sale or sales have been discovered.⁴ The rump of the estate, 600 acres in the parish of Arncliffe in Littondale, North Yorkshire, with the houses of High Ryelands and Low Ryelands, Lady Vincent sold in 1919 to

² Bothamley Collection Catalogue, Section K.

³ In the course of studying the collection, two or three interlopers were recognised as such owing to the donors' names being attached. The documents were removed.

⁴ This sale is referred to in the next document, but was not found in the Registry of Deeds.

Philip Howard Walker of Ben Rhydding, Ilkley,⁵ the purchaser who, as Mr Bothamley said, 'refused to take more than the recent deeds shown upon the Abstract of Title' and left the solicitor to dispose of the rest.

JOHNSON OF WHITTINGTON⁶

To go back to the beginning, the main line of this family saga are the Johnsons of Whittington in north Lancashire, where they can be firmly traced from 1514 but had probably been established long before. Tenants of the Carus family, they owned more than one tenement in the village, the main one a house opposite the church steps, since rebuilt and called 'Hillside'. The documents do not take us back so far as does the parish register which is extant from the sixteenth century. They start with some scattered seventeenth-century activity of a prosperous Thomas Johnson (1604–66), a source of whose prosperity was his connection with the Padgett or Paget family whose residuary heiress, Jane Paget, became his second wife.⁷

Thomas's son Henry (1639–1712), however, got into financial difficulties in the 1690s, absconded, and finally spent time in York gaol. His eldest son Thomas (1667–1729) is the person with whom we are most concerned. He had become involved in the transactions and in the absence of his father was held responsible by angry creditors.⁸ The main cause of complaint was that the father owed more than £1000 and the creditors maintained that they had been promised £800 by the son, which he was to receive from his wife's family. Johnson on his part sued his father's partner. It is not possible to follow all the legal twists and turns but there is evidence of a suit in the Court of Common Pleas and a Bill of Complaint against Thomas Johnson by ten of his neighbours.

The family's move to Yorkshire was due to the marriage in 1699 of this Thomas with Ellen Smith, whose family background in Littondale and Arncliffe is documented under the following headings of 'Knowles' and 'Stephenson'. However the move did not involve the abandonment of the original Johnson estate, and documents until late in the eighteenth century show involvement of the descendants of Henry Johnson with property in Whittington.⁹

Mention must be made here of a curious small series concerning four generations of the Pennington family whose 'ancient tenement' was at Fishgarthend in Furness Fells, now in Cumbria.¹⁰ It is included at this point in the catalogue because the sequence ends with a William Pennington of Whittington holding land of the Carus family in 1690, but there is nothing to show the exact link with the Johnson family either in its acquisition or disposal, and research has not found any marriage or will to fill the gap, a good example of the frustrating incompleteness of the collection.

KNOWLES OF LITTONDALE¹¹

When Thomas Johnson married Ellen Smith at Arncliffe in 1699, he allied himself with a family of considerable antiquity, the Knowles. From this family, it is reasonable to suppose, derive five of the six most ancient documents in the collection.¹² The oldest of all (temp. Richard I) is a confirmation by Agnes de Percy of a gift to the monks of Sallay

⁵. Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, Ref. 20.1100.386.

⁶. Bothamley Collection Catalogue, Section D.

⁷. Catalogue, Section D2.

⁸. Catalogue, Section D4.

⁹. Catalogue, Section D5.

¹⁰. Catalogue, Section E.

¹¹. Catalogue, Section A.

¹². Catalogue, Section A1.

(Sawley Abbey), originally given by Richard de Malebis, of two bovates in Litton and pasture for 600 sheep 'counted by the long hundred'. The others date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the latest 1335, and all are connected with the same holding. They are not directly linked to anything else in the catalogue, but one may guess that their careful preservation was due to the long-running conflicts between Sallay and Fountains Abbey which had been granted most of the other Percy lands in the area. The name of Knol or de Knol occurs more than once in the Sallay Chartulary:¹³ it may well be that the Knowles were settled on an extremely ancient holding and these slips of parchment, once important as evidence, were still cherished long after their practical value had gone.

On the other hand they may belong to a more recent acquisition of land. There is a two-hundred-year gap in the evidence, and then a series beginning in 1565 shows the Knowles family acquiring lands and tenements in both Arncliffe and Litton which had been released for sale by the dissolution of the monasteries, and which had come into the hands of the Pudsey family of Bolton-by-Bowland in Lancashire.¹⁴ It has not been possible so far to identify these lands precisely, but the Knowles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a prosperous family of Foxup in Littondale (where their descendants of the same name still hold a small amount of property) with connections in the cities of London and York, and they also owned Spittlecroft in Litton. The houses in the hamlet of Foxup have all been rebuilt in the nineteenth century, but a datestone 'M:MK 1686' has been reset in a wall. Spittlecroft remains as a ruined yeoman's house of the seventeenth century. The exact descent of the early Knowles family is unclear, but the line with which these documents are concerned ends with James (–1667) who married Elizabeth Stevenson or Stephenson of whom more hereafter.

Another small and incoherent collection of twenty-one documents must belong here, though it is unclear exactly how. The Pudseys mentioned above were closely related to the Eures of Co. Durham, and twenty-one documents relate to various pieces of land in Evenwood, Hampsterley, Witton and Ayton belonging to the Eure family.¹⁵ The first dates from 1377, the last from 1702. Most refer to the leasing of cottage property, although two, which do not mention the Eures, but have been included because of the Durham connection, refer to the conveyancing of a large estate at Brancepeth, valued at almost £8000, in 1637.

STEPHENSON OF ARNCLIFFE¹⁶

As was said above, the connection with the Knowles family ended with a marriage of James Knowles to Elizabeth Stephenson, and one of the longest and most coherent series of documents deals with the Stephenson estate. Stephenson is not an early name in the area, and does not appear in any of the Tudor subsidy lists.¹⁷ They seem to have arrived in Littondale in the later sixteenth century by marriage. A marriage settlement is preserved, dated 1589, between the first of the name, John Stephenson, and Jane Tennant of a very longstanding local family.¹⁸ By 1700 three Stephenson tenements all descended to Elizabeth Knowles, daughter of John Stephenson (–1707) during the lifetime of her

¹³. *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. Joseph McNulty, 2 vols, YAS Record Series, 87 (1933), 90 (1934).

¹⁴. Catalogue, Section A2.

¹⁵. Catalogue, Section B.

¹⁶. Catalogue, Section C.

¹⁷. *Early Tudor Craven: Subsidies and Assessments 1510–1547*, ed. R. W. Hoyle, YAS Record Series, 145 (1987).

¹⁸. Catalogue, Section C3/1.

father, and these were Sausgarth,¹⁹ Arncliffe Cote,²⁰ and the main tenement, identified only as 'Arncliffe', but now called High and Low Ryelands in the centre of Arncliffe village.²¹ These properties, though considerably rebuilt, are all still extant, the village tenement forming the heart of the estate which Thomas Johnson of Whittington subsequently acquired. It was the last to be sold in the twentieth century, and is still the centre of the modest estate sold in 1919. The process of Thomas Johnson's acquisition was complicated, and so the remaining documentation is full and carefully preserved.

Elizabeth Knowles inherited from her father before his death, it would seem because of his extreme old age. His birth date is not recorded, but he married in 1632, so he was a very aged man when he passed his estate to his daughter in 1693, retaining only one room and maintenance for his lifetime. Seisin is not often noted in these documents, but it may be an indication of the importance of this transaction that we know seisin was signified by the handing over of a clod of earth and a warming pan, presumably representing the land and the dwelling.²²

In fact John Stephenson outlived his daughter and died in 1707, by which time he must have been approaching his century. Elizabeth Knowles died in 1700. Her own two daughters had both died childless before her, so she left all her property to her three nieces, Elizabeth, Mary and Ellen Smith, daughters of James Smith of Ackonley near Colne in Lancashire. In 1699 Ellen had married Thomas Johnson of Whittington who then settled in Arncliffe and managed the Stephenson estate for his aged grandfather-in-law. One may hazard a guess that he was only too pleased to leave Whittington and all the litigation he had been subjected to. His own father, the unsatisfactory Henry, did not die until 1713, but after that date the documents show Thomas buying out his sisters-in-law, Elizabeth, the wife of Reverend John Bradley of Kirkby Malham and then Slaidburn, and Mary, widow of Thomas Tunstall of Middleham.

JOHNSON OF ARNCLIFFE²³

The Johnson family was based in Arncliffe from Thomas's marriage in 1699 until 1795, covering the greater part of four generations: Thomas I (1667–1729), John (1709–68), Thomas II (1739–83), and Thomas III (1768–1831). They prospered steadily, partly at least by reason of the marriages they made. John married in 1739 Agnes Wood, daughter of John Wood of Arncliffe, and a series labelled in the catalogue 'Tophan/Wood estate' documents land which came to the Johnsons through her, some directly from her father, some from her childless sisters.²⁴ Other properties have some eighteenth-century documentation: a cottage called 'Branson's House',²⁵ land known as Hardarse,²⁶ another house called 'Samuel Johnson's' (no relation so far as is known).²⁷ It is easy to conclude that all such pieces of property were actually acquired by the Johnsons, simply because they are documented, but in some cases there may be other links which are not clearly apparent. The family became increasingly important people in the parish of Arncliffe, as John's handsome table tomb in the churchyard, and Thomas II's brass plaque in the church, show. There are indications that they were called upon in cases of arbitration

¹⁹. Catalogue, Section C1.

²⁰. Catalogue, Section C2.

²¹. Catalogue, Section C3.

²². Catalogue, Section C3/35.

²³. Catalogue, Section F.

²⁴. Catalogue, Section F4.

²⁵. Catalogue, Section F5.

²⁶. Catalogue, Section F7.

²⁷. Catalogue, Section F8.

or problem-solving for their neighbours, and it may be that some documents not directly concerning their own land found a way into the family archive.

There are no maps and few surveys to give information as to the extent of their total estate, but it was considerable. In a land tax assessment for Arncliffe parish alone (undated but from internal evidence later than 1796) out of fifty-two properties listed, the largest owner is 'Mr Johnson' with eight separate holdings, but as is common with such lists the properties are not identified. It is unfortunate that there is no tithe map for Arncliffe, and clearly there was much reshuffling of ownership at the time of enclosure.

MASONS OF ESHTON²⁸

It was the marriage of Thomas Johnson III at the end of the eighteenth century which firmly lifted the Johnsons from yeomanry to gentry. In 1795 he married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Mason of Eshton, Gargrave. Like his great-grandfather before him, he migrated to his wife's home, and in due course, Margaret being the only surviving child, they inherited the Mason estates.

These were not nearly as extensive as the Littondale property, but there was a great difference between remote Littondale and the softer, more kindly Airedale. The distance between them might be little more than a dozen miles but Eshton was almost part of the flourishing large village of Gargrave, and Gargrave is only four miles from Skipton, the manufacturing, mercantile, social and bureaucratic centre of the area. The Masons had not long risen from the ranks of yeomen, but they were definitely small gentry. The documents show a similar aggregation of small estates such as we have seen with the Johnson family.

Eshton House in the hamlet of Eshton was the house which Thomas Johnson inherited from his father-in-law in 1815. This was rebuilt soon afterwards in line with the family's prosperity, but was originally called Chappell Butts, the tenement of the Tatham family. The last member of the Tathams sold Chappell Butts in 1723, and it was acquired in 1728 by Richard Mason, the grandfather of Thomas Mason.²⁹ At some time the Masons had also acquired the Rakes estate in Eshton, which had belonged to a family who by marriage migrated to London about 1697.³⁰ This transaction probably came about through Thomas Mason's marriage to Jane Shiers in 1762, though the mechanism is not clear.

JOHNSON OF ESHTON

Thomas Johnson III's holdings and his social standing were now further increased by two acquisitions. The first, in 1796, immediately after his marriage and therefore probably financed by his wife's money, was the Horsfield estate in Arncliffe.³¹ This is well documented from 1607, first under the name of 'Silson's tenement', then as 'Christopher Buck's tenement', and finally bought as an investment in 1726 by Jeremiah Horsfield of York. Thomas III bought it from the estate of Jeremiah's son, Mann Horsfield, who died childless in 1790. The second was Raisgill in Langstrothdale, the very ancient tenement of the Tennants.³² The documents show that at the end of the eighteenth century it descended to a family called Horner, but in 1807 it was bought back by Jeffrey Tennant of Yockenthwaite, a cousin of a younger branch.

This Jeffrey was unmarried, and among the beneficiaries named in his will proved in

²⁸. Catalogue, Section H.

²⁹. Catalogue, Section H2.

³⁰. Catalogue, Section H5.

³¹. Catalogue, Section G.

³². Catalogue, Section J1.

1826 were Stephen and Henry Johnson, Thomas III's younger brothers. Stephen's share was in Hetton in Burnsall and nothing more is known of it, but Henry's was the ancestral tenement at Raisgill. There are also documents concerning Newhouses in Horton in Ribblesdale, which was a Tennant property, although in Jeffrey's will it was left to Joseph Mitton.³³ In a codicil to his will dated 11 March 1828 Thomas III states, 'Whereas considerable property has fallen to me by descent as one of the heirs of the late Jeffrey Tennant of Yockenthwaite...', although there is nothing to show how the properties in question were transferred from Henry Johnson and Joseph Mitton, the original inheritors.

The last direct member of the Johnson family was Thomas Mason Johnson (1796-1873), son of Thomas III. The collection contains very little relating to his ownership from the time of his father's death in 1831 until his own in 1873. There is no record of any more land being acquired, and neither Thomas Mason Johnson nor any of his four siblings married. What happened after his death has been related earlier.

CONCLUSION

It hardly needs stating that the present writer has done no more research than was needed to identify the tangled Bothamley Collection and present a fairly well organised catalogue of its items in the hope that it may be of use to others working on the history of the area. It is for instance a fascinating thought that someone with the time and expertise might succeed in tracking back these holdings to the original two bovates and pasture for 600 sheep of Sawley Abbey, but it would not be an easy quest.

The collection itself is on the Turnbull Library's list for microfilming, and a hope has been expressed that it would be done during the year 2000, but this may be difficult to achieve. In particular, the condition of some of the items is such that microfilming without extensive conservation first will not produce a legible result. However, the writer is gratified that a chance meeting in 1987 has brought back into view, and hopefully into use, a collection which throws some light on the development of a family estate over many years, and is grateful to the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the British Council in Wellington for their help and support.

³³. Catalogue, Section J3.

A CONTINUING NINETEENTH-CENTURY MYTH QUESTIONED: THE SHORT-LIVED COLLEGE OF RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AT MIDDLEHAM

By J. Paul Burbridge

Although it has been claimed that Richard III's College at Middleham had a continuous existence from 1478 until 1856, a careful examination of the documents surrounding its early years suggests that it was not as fully financed as the founder intended and effectively ceased to exist shortly after his death in 1485.

Historical information has only to be recorded in print to be reckoned true: whilst such information printed *repeatedly* seems almost to assume incontrovertibility: hence myths are easily perpetuated! The printed word is not easily retracted.

In Richmondshire one such myth clings tenaciously to the Collegiate Church of Richard, Duke of Gloucester at Middleham, which he founded in 1478 for a dean, six chaplains, four clerks, a clerk sacristan and six choristers. Over the past century and a half it has been repeatedly affirmed that in some way this collegiate foundation escaped suppression, with even the hint of a suggestion that in some sense the collegiate foundation still continues to exist! That excellent scholar, T. M. Fallow, writing in this Journal in 1911, wrote:

Middleham Church is, perhaps, unique in this respect that, simple parish church as it structurally is, *it yet remains what it was when in 1478, Richard III, then Duke of Gloucester, raised it to the dignity of a Collegiate Church, with a dean and chapter to minister within its walls.*¹

To be fair to him, he then provides a shortened version of the statutes, in which he clearly understands that these state intentions rather than long-term historical facts: and yet on a superficial reading the damage is done, and successive writers have repeatedly implied that this chantry foundation continued uninterrupted.

Far more seriously, J. M. Melhuish, in a frequently reissued pamphlet about the College published by the Richard III Society, states quite specifically that: 'The King's College of Middleham was one of the few exempted from suppression, and for the next 300 years it retained its collegiate constitution, *as its founder had designed*, although Mass was no longer offered for him on its altar.'² This assertion is further emphasised a few pages later where he writes: 'Little is known of the effects of the Reformation on the College, except that as a royal foundation, *it was one of the very few to escape dissolution ...*.' (Italics in this paragraph are mine.)

A similar suggestion is also made in Jane Hatcher's volume on Richmondshire architecture, where she writes: 'Through its royal links it was not suppressed as a chantry under Edward VI, and the Crown continued to nominate the dean, a title which survived until

¹ T. M. Fallow, 'The Fallow Papers', YAJ, 21 (1911), p. 225. The italics are mine.

² J. M. Melhuish, *The College of King Richard III, Middleham*, Richard III Society (n.d.), p. 2.

1856, although the appointments to the six canons' [i.e. chaplains'] stalls gradually lapsed.³

The prime responsibility for this repeated assertion that the college escaped suppression must be laid at the door of the Reverend William Atthill, a friend and colleague of Dean Peter Wood, who was dean 1814–56. This dean attempted to revive the college during the 1830s and appointed the same William Atthill as 'Canon and Sub-Dean'. In addition he nominated a further five non-resident 'Canons' (so-called) during the period 1842–45, including, most notably, Charles Kingsley.

In 1847 William Atthill edited a useful collection of documents about this collegiate foundation for the Camden Society.⁴ Unhappily, in his introductory preface he states specifically that 'the College of Middleham [was] one of the few foundations which escaped the sacrilegious rapacity of the Eighth Henry', before going on to bemoan its impending final demise in the nineteenth century 'after an existence of four centuries from the date of incorporation by its royal founder'.⁵

Whilst it is certainly true that King Henry VIII did dissolve over fifty intercessory foundations,⁶ and that Middleham was not amongst them, nevertheless this was not on account of any notable goodwill on his part towards a former royal foundation, but rather of inevitability — if only because the College as such had already long ceased to exist, and was not there for the taking in any case! The dean alone remained, and he as incumbent of the parish. Some contemporary confirmation of this is provided from at least three possible sources.

In the first place the mandate for the induction and installation of Simon Welden as the third holder of the deanery in 1515 was issued not to the chaplains of the college, as might be expected in accordance with Statute 1 of the College statutes,⁷ but to one 'Thomas abbot of Jervaulx' nearby.⁸ This is strange, to say the least, since the Abbot of Jervaulx at that time was Robert Thornewton,⁹ and furthermore no Abbot Thomas is listed as Abbot of Jervaulx after Thomas de Gristhwayte (c. 1312 to c. 1342). There was, however, an Abbot Thomas Sides at nearby Coverham Abbey, and so it may perhaps be accounted a clerical error one way or another, though surely very serious in such a legal document. But, whatever his correct name or abbey, the issue of the mandate to a nearby abbot strongly implies that quite simply there were no chaplains remaining by this stage.

This seems to be further confirmed by the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* valuation of 1535 which refers only to the deanery, held by Simon Welden as incumbent, with no additional chaplains listed.¹⁰ It was the normal practice of the commissioners to note the names and incomes of all prebendaries and junior clergy in collegiate foundations (as they did at the nearby Collegiate Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid in Ripon) and they would not have failed to record the names of any chaplains had any such been present by that time.

Thirdly, less than a decade later, John Leland visited Middleham, and in his *Itinerary*, refers to the fact that

³ C. J. Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture* (published privately by the author 1990 and reprinted 1999), p. 158.

⁴ *Documents relating to the Foundation and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Middleham, in the County of York*, ed. William Atthill, Camden 1st series, 38 (1847).

⁵ Atthill, p. vii.

⁶ Listed in A. Kreider, *English Chantries: the Road to Dissolution* (Harvard, 1979), p. 211, Appendix 1.

⁷ 'The Dean to be admitted by the six priests, the eldest of them to give him his oath at the high altar ... and thereupon to bring him to his stall and put him in possession of the same ...'.

⁸ Atthill, Appendix K, p. 94.

⁹ His gravestone is now in Middleham Church. The reason for this is unclear.

¹⁰ Atthill, Appendix L, p. 95.

Richard the iii lay at it, and collegiated the Church there. But Henry vii toke the new college land awaye.¹¹ The towne itself is smawle, and hath but one parochie Chirch. It hath beene, as sum wene, a Collegiate Chirch. The parson is yet caullid the Dean of Middleham.¹²

In fact, had the College survived into the reign of Henry's son, Edward VI, it would certainly have been suppressed then by the Act of 1547 for the Dissolution of Chantries, which was quite specific about the very few exemptions from the provisions of the Act.

This Act ... shall not in any wise extend to any college, hostel, or hall within either of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford; nor to any chantry founded in any of the colleges, hostels, or halls being in the same universities; nor to the free chapel of St George the Martyr, situate in the Castle of Windsor; nor to the college called St Mary College of Winchester besides Winchester of the foundation of Bishop Wykeham; nor to the College of Eton; nor to the parish church commonly called the Chapel in the Sea, in Newton within the Isle of Ely in the county of Cambridge,¹³ nor to any cathedral church or college where a bishop's see is within this realm of England or Wales...¹⁴

Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), in his *Notitia Monastica* (1695), leans towards an alternative extreme position concerning the existence of the college when he writes:

Richard Duke of Gloucester, had licence of his brother, King Edward, AD 1476, to found a College here for a Dean, six Chaplains, four Clerks, and six Choristers, and other clergymen officiating in the parish Church, to be dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Jesus, St Mary and St Alkilda [*sic*], which he never finished. The minister of the parish hath yet the title of Dean and enjoys several privileges, but there probably never were any Chaplains, Clerks, or Choristers.¹⁵

T. Whellan *et al.*, in their local history¹⁶ are probably nearest the mark when they state:

The collegiate establishment seems to have been co-existent only with its first members, for want of funds — for though Richard obtained licence for the new corporation to acquire lands of 200 marks annually, it never did acquire any such property — and it could not be expected that the Dean would or could have supported all his retinue of Chaplains and Clerks out of the same revenues he possessed while simple Rector. Mr Longstaffe¹⁷ says, that what property had been given towards the support of the College, was 'again wrested from it by the Tudor'. ... According to tradition, the *College* was to have been built in a field nearly half a mile from the Church afterwards called *Foundation Field*, had not the death of Richard III, as before intimated, frustrated his design.

In the year 1480, the Dean and Chaplains were granted some tithes of the Castle parks, and certain rents, eatages, and two bucks and a doe; the latter to be furnished against the feast of St Alkelda. In 1493 William Beverley, first Dean of Middleham died, whilst Presidentiary [*sic*: for Residentiary] Canon of York, of sweating sickness. He had resigned his Deanery on his promotion.¹⁸ In the mandate to induct Simeon Weldon [*sic*], 1514–15, and the valuation of 1535, Middleham Church is mentioned simply as a Deanery, and the Dean as incumbent. In 1538 there was a royal licence, *decano ac ministris collegii*, to grant probates of wills in the parish. The word *ministers* here probably meant the proctors, for the collegiate corporation had disappeared long before the visit of Leland in 1546.¹⁹

¹¹. This will refer to the manor of Wyggonhalle, and of Fersfield, in Norfolk, worth £73 per annum, given by the founder in the last year of his reign.

¹². John Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, iv (1906–10, reprint 1964), p. 25.

¹³. The lands of this chantry were subsequently annexed to the rectory of Newton.

¹⁴. Stat. I Edward VI c. 14.

¹⁵. Quoted in T. Whellan and Co., *History and Topography of the City of York; and the North Riding of Yorkshire*, 3 vols (Beverley, 1859), II, p. 131.

¹⁶. See note 15.

¹⁷. W. Hylton Longstaffe, author of *Richmondshire* (1852) and a *Guide to Richmond and the neighbourhood* (1857).

¹⁸. Canon Precentor of York Minster 1483–93/4.

¹⁹. Whellan, pp. 131–32.

There is certainly no mention of any exemption for Middleham, in the Act for the Dissolution of Chantries, and in the light of other evidence adduced above it is reasonable to believe that, apart from the Deanery itself, which unquestionably continued until 1856, the institution had long ceased to exist in any collegiate form.

The Statutes for the Collegiate Church (originally dated 4 July 1478) were reprinted in 1857 by Canon James Raine,²⁰ who writes:

It does not appear that the benevolent design of the founder was ever fully completed. The College was indeed established, but it was never properly endowed, and these Statutes, therefore, to a great extent, became inapplicable. It was the intention of Richard III, to have made an ample provision for the maintenance of his College, but he was prevented from doing so by the troubles which brought his reign to a premature conclusion. The shadow of the establishment which he contemplated continued to exist until a very recent period.

The shadow remained indeed, but not the reality!

The inclusion of the actual names of the initial dean, chaplains, clerks and choristers within the statutes strongly suggests that the college did actually come into existence as Raine believed: and so Tanner's suggestions, in *Notitia Monastica*, that 'there probably never were any Chaplains, Clerks or Choristers' is therefore almost certainly incorrect. In any case, had the college never even begun its life, there would have been no reason for Richard in 1480 to have entered an indenture redeeming tithes for annual payment and alienated six manors to the college²¹ or in 1481 to have obtained a charter from Archbishop Rotherham releasing the college from his authority as Ordinary and Metropolitan.²² Similarly, the papal bull of July 1482 confirming 'the recent erection by the Ordinary into a Collegiate Church ... of the Parish Church of Middleham in the Diocese of York, in the Archdeaconry of Richmond'²³ would never have been made had the college failed to come into existence.

Furthermore Statutes 22 and 23 concerning precedence²⁴ do seem to indicate that a difficult situation had actually arisen between the dean of the college and the dean of the castle chapel which demanded statutory resolution.

The requirement that the liturgical Use of Sarum be employed is emphasised strongly,²⁵ even though the reason is far from clear. Not only is it ordered that the Sarum Use shall be employed and the Sarum Kalendar taken as normative (Statute 29), but the *preciosa* and other suffrages used in the chapter house on Fridays are also ordered to be after Sarum Use.²⁶ Statute 26 requires that at service time habits as used in collegiate churches

²⁰. These statutes were printed from what is believed to be a unique copy now in the North Yorkshire County Record Office, by the Revd James Raine, Jun., in the *Archaeological Journal*, 14, pp. 160–70 (1857).

²¹. Atthill, Appendix G, pp. 85–87; M. A. Hicks, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester: A Study in Character*, Borthwick Paper 70 (1986), p. 21.

²². Atthill, Appendix E, pp. 82–84.

²³. Atthill, Appendix I, pp. 89–94.

²⁴. Statute 22 states: 'I ordain that the Dean ... have all manner tithes and offerings within my castle of Middleham ... without let or interruption of the Dean of the chapel of my said castle or any other minister of the same.' Statute 23 provides '... that the dean of my said college at all times shall keep his stall and priority, as most principal of the same, giving no room or place to the Dean of the chapel within my said castle, or other coming at any time into the said college, church, to minister divine service, under the dignity of a prior by privilege using a mitre.'

²⁵. Statute 7 directs that the clergy and clerks shall 'keep divine service daily ... by note after the Use of Salisbury, that is to say, Mattins, Mass, Evensong, and Compline ...'.

²⁶. Statute 11 directs 'that every Friday ... the Dean ... shall cause assembly of the said priests and other ministers of the said College to be made in the Chapter House and then, after *preciosa* and other suffrages according to the ordinal of Salisbury' the Dean shall enquire into faults etc. committed during the previous week.

within the diocese of Sarum shall be worn.²⁷ Permission to employ Sarum Use had had to be obtained from the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter of York, and it appears that the framers of the statutes went out of their way to establish the total independence of the college.

The position of the founder and his heirs remained dominant. All appointments were to be on his or their nomination, and they therefore undertook to meet the travelling expenses of any messenger informing them of any vacancy that occurred.²⁸ The founder was even to be involved in liturgical decisions, in consultation with the dean, concerning any saints' days that he required to be observed, but for which no provision had been made in the Sarum Kalendar.²⁹

It may fairly be said that the distant shadow of Richard, Duke of Gloucester's college at Middleham certainly continued until the extensive political and ecclesiastical reforms of the first half of the nineteenth century. But if some measure of confusion attaches to the initial practical demise of the collegiate foundation, further mistakes have been made by different writers about its final dissolution.

Although Atthill, writing on 1 January 1847, bemoans 'the specious but ... positive sacrilege of the nineteenth century' in abolishing the foundation, and on removing those 'exemptions and liberties of a jurisdiction, which, with every other PECULIAR throughout "Merrie England" soon will have passed away',³⁰ regrettably he closes his collection of documents with George III's grant of the deanery to the Reverend R. B. Nickolls in 1785.³¹ Whether Atthill regarded the nineteenth-century legislation as either too painful or too contemporary to merit recording we shall never know.

An Act of Parliament in 1836³² not only created the new dioceses of Ripon and Manchester, but also established the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Amongst many tasks they were required to prepare Orders in Council for the abolition of peculiar jurisdictions (such as that obtaining at Middleham), restoring episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction wherever there had been previous exemptions.

The final surviving vestige of the collegiate foundation — the deanery — was suppressed by a further Act dated 11 August 1840.³³ This required 'that no new appointment shall be made to the Deaneries of *Wolverhampton, Middleham, Heytesbury and Brecon*'. As usual in such cases, this would come into force at the next vacancy, which in this instance did not occur until the death of Dean Peter Wood in 1856.

It is unfortunate that the *Victoria County History of the North Riding of Yorkshire* mistakenly states that 'the collegiate foundation was finally suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1845'³⁴ and supports this statement with an erroneous footnote — Stat. 8 and 9 Vict. c. 70. (That particular Act was 'for the further Amendment of the Church Building Acts', containing references neither to peculiar jurisdictions nor to Middleham!) Unhappily,

²⁷. Statute 26 provides that the clergy and choristers shall wear 'habits accordingly to the habits used by such persons in other honourable college churches of the diocese of the church of Sarum'.

²⁸. Statute 21 directs that the founder and his heirs 'shall at all times bear the expense and cost of every messenger which ... shall bring unto us certain knowledge of the vacation of any stall being within my said college'.

²⁹. Statute 29 provides that 'if any feast of the foresaid saints [specified and listed in *NAJ*, 21, p. 232] have no feast or day in the kalendar ... the Dean for the time being during my life shall take in this party with mine advice ...'.

³⁰. Atthill, pp. vii-viii.

³¹. Atthill, Appendix Q, p. 104.

³². Stat. 6 & 7 Will. IV c. 77.

³³. Stat. 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113.

³⁴. *VCH North Riding*, 1, p. 257.

this error has been repeated unchecked by subsequent writers,³⁵ and has now become an additional element in the folk mythology surrounding the Collegiate Church of Middleham. For good measure J. M. Melhuish, in his pamphlet about the college, incorrectly states that Dean Wood was succeeded in office by his friend William Atthill,³⁶ whereas the diocesan records clearly indicate that Dean Wood's successor was the Reverend James Alex Birch, who was instituted as rector on 11 April 1856.

The new rector, however, continued to live in a house called The Deanery³⁷ until late in the twentieth century when, regrettably, even this very last remaining vestige of the college of Richard, Duke of Gloucester at Middleham was finally erased.

³⁵ e.g. E. Pontefract and M. Hartley, *Wensleydale* (London, 1935, but frequently reprinted).

³⁶ J. M. Melhuish, *The College of King Richard III, Middleham*, Richard III Society (n.d.), p. 12.

³⁷ But interestingly enough, writing in *YAJ*, 21 (1911), p. 229, T. M. Fallow expressed regret that the Rectory was at that time no longer called the Deanery: his wish was incidentally subsequently fulfilled, even if ultimately the house has reverted once again to being Middleham Rectory!

THE CATTLE HERDS AND SHEEP FLOCKS OF THE EARLS OF CUMBERLAND IN THE 1560s

By R. W. Hoyle

Work by a number of historians, including R. Cunliffe Shaw, Ian Kershaw and most recently Mary Atkin, has shown how the larger landowners in the Yorkshire and Lancashire Pennines maintained large cattle herds from at least the late thirteenth century. Cunliffe Shaw and Atkin have analysed the accounts for the cattle farms of Blackburnshire, where in 1295 the stock to be over-wintered totalled nearly 2500 animals. In 1341, when the stock system had passed its apogee, there were still 1099 animals in the system divided between twenty-one vaccaries or cattle stations.¹ At Bolton Priory, the house had a little over 500 cattle when its herd was at its maximum size in the early fourteenth century and anything up to 3500 or so sheep.² With one or two exceptions, less attention has been paid to the seigniorial and monastic cattle herds and sheep flocks of the sixteenth century. The enormity of the Fountains flocks in the early sixteenth century is well known. At the dissolution, the abbey still had 2000 or more cattle and 1146 sheep.³ Many of the cattle were in the hands of keepers or tenants who maintained dairy flocks and paid the abbey in butter and cheese. There are traces of a similar system of renders at Bolton Priory.⁴ The Bolton herds and flocks discovered by the dissolution commissioners in 1539 were much smaller, although the accounts acknowledge that they had already been reduced by sale.⁵ Little has been written about the cattle herds and sheep flocks of lay landowners in the sixteenth century: indeed, it may be asked whether larger landlords still maintained demesne herds in the sixteenth century — the Duchy of Lancaster, for instance, having ceased cattle farming by 1450 — or whether sheep and cattle farming was solely the prerogative of the smaller man. If that question can be resolved in the affirmative, then a further question poses itself: were the cattle herds operated to produce a surplus for sale or were they merely to provide traction, meat, butter and cheese for the household and estates?

On the evidence of inventories, cattle rearing and sheep farming appear to have been relatively common amongst the larger gentry in the sixteenth century. J. T. Cliffe noted three mid-sixteenth-century Yorkshire gentry who had upwards of 1000 animals, preponderantly sheep, and suggested that where there was access to extensive areas of pasture, the wealthier gentry were generally involved in meat and wool production until the slump in wool prices, which began about 1610.⁶ To his examples may be added a figure like Walter Strickland of Sizergh in Westmorland, who, at his death in 1569, had sixty-nine

¹ R. Cuncliffe Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster* (Preston, 1956), the figures for 1341 drawn from pp. 496–98; Mary Atkin, 'Land use and management in the upland demesne of the de Lacy estates of Blackburnshire, c. 1300', *AgHR*, 42 (1994), pp. 1–19.

² Ian Kershaw, *Bolton Priory. The Economy of a Northern Monastery, 1286–1325* (London, 1973), ch. 3, esp. tables 9 and 12.

³ *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains*, 1, ed. J. R. Walbran, Surtees Soc., 42 (1863), p. 294.

⁴ *The Fountains Abbey Lease Book*, ed. D. J. H. Michelmore, YASRS 140 (1981); *Bolton Priory Rentals and Accounts, 1487–1539*, ed. Ian Kershaw, YASRS 132 (1969), pp. 30–31.

⁵ The commissioners sold eighty-seven cattle and 304 sheep. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory Rentals*, p. 20.

⁶ J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1960), p. 51.

cattle and 504 sheep at Sizergh, eighty-one cattle and 164 sheep at his estate at Halnaby (Yorkshire), twenty-seven cattle at Middleton Tyas, four kine and 300 wethers at Kepwith, and fifty-one cattle and 130 sheep at Thornton Bridge, making in all 232 head of cattle and 1096 sheep.⁷ Or Sir Richard Sherburn of Stonyhurst who, at his death in 1594, had seventy-one oxen, 120 milk cows, seventy-two suckling cows and 780 sheep. A lesser figure, Thomas Parker of Browsholme in the Forest of Bowland, who died a couple of years previously, had eighty-eight cattle of various sorts and 160 sheep.⁸ These herds and flocks are far in excess of the much smaller numbers of animals held by peasant farmers. It is possible to find substantial herds and flocks held by the nobility. At the end of 1536 the stockman of John Lord Scrope of Castle Bolton had 166 cattle and 841 sheep under his charge.⁹ An undated inventory of the animals on the second Earl of Cumberland's demesne at Bolton (Priory) in Wharfedale, almost certainly made after the Earl's death in 1569, includes sixty-seven cattle and 891 sheep (Table 1).

TABLE 1: Animals on the Bolton demesne, 1569

Cattle	
20 oxen @ 40s.	£40 0s. 0d.
13 oxen [@ 26s. 8d.]	£17 6s. 8d.
16 stotts @ 33s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.
16 stirk bulls with 1 cow @ 13s. 4d.	£10 13s. 4d.
2 calves @ 5s. 0d.	10s. 0d.
	[£95 3s. 4d.]
Sheep	
112 wethers @ £4 13s. 4d. score	£26 2s. 8d.
242 wethers @ 73s. 4d. score	£44 7s. 4d.
214 wethers and twinters @ 53s. 4d. score	£28 10s. 8d.
110 ewes @ 46s. 8d. score	£12 16s. 8d.
9 tups @ 2s. 0d.	18s. 0d.
204 hoggs and rigalds @ 36s. 8d. score	£18 6s. 8d. ^a
Total	£226 5s. 4d.

^a Recte £18 13s. 0d. I have allowed the MS figure to stand in the totals.
Source: Chatsworth, MSS of the Duke of Devonshire, Bolton Mss, Londesborough G2 (and partially and inaccurately printed in Whitaker, *Craven*, pp. 398–403). I infer that this is an inventory of the goods of the second Earl of Cumberland partly because some of the horses named in the inventory were sold by the earl's executors in 1569.

Whilst I hope to explore this matter further, it may be tentatively concluded that most gentry in at least the highland areas of the North had sizeable cattle herds and sheep flocks in the sixteenth century. Inventories do not, however, tell us anything about the internal population dynamics of these herds — whether they were self-sufficient breeding units or whether their numbers were constantly reinforced by the purchase of animals from outside. Nor do they answer the crucial question we mentioned earlier: whether these herds of cattle were maintained for consumption in the household or the estate or whether their progeny were sold outside Yorkshire for fattening, a practice which certainly existed by the 1630s and perhaps much earlier. Inventories give a static statement of the

⁷. *Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc., 26 (1853), pp. 218–24.
⁸. Lancashire RO, Weld of Stonyhurst MSS, DDSt (unlisted); Parker of Browsholme MSS, DDB 74/20.
⁹. Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS), Leeds, Scrope Accounts, MD 319.

possessions of the deceased on the day of his death. A great deal can be discovered from inventories: notice the lack of calves or breeding stock in the Cumberland inventory for instance. We need accounts to offer us a dynamic picture of how the herds and flocks worked as organisms. As an example, Scrope's storer accounted at the end of 1535 for 114 oxen which had passed through his hands during the year. Of these, fifty had been in his hands at the end of the previous year, fifty-six had been bought and eight had been transferred to the oxen from amongst the younger animals. Of the 114 oxen, thirty-nine had been sent to the kitchens, forty had been sent to Sir Brian Hastings (whether for sale or fattening is not reported) and of the remainder, nine were fat at Bolton and so would be eaten, twelve were plough animals and nineteen were at Langley.¹⁰ Cattle could be bought and sold, and (and here we encounter an extra dimension of complexity) matured over a period of years: their value increased as they matured. They might be male or female (and if male, might be gelded). A flock or herd needed to maintain a balance between the various categories of animals, between breeding and fattening beasts. A pair of consecutive accounts from the estates of the Clifford earls of Cumberland allows some of these questions to be posed and, if not absolutely answered, their complexity plumbed.

These are accounts of the Bolton stockman, the appositely named Thomas Stirk, for 5 and 6 Elizabeth (1562–63).¹¹ The accounts fall into five parts: the account of that part of the Bolton demesne in the hands of the stockman, the rents of the demesnes not in the hands of the stockman but leased to tenants, the stockman's cash account, the account for cattle and the account for sheep. For 5 Elizabeth we have the cash and stock accounts: for 6 Elizabeth we have all five accounts. A correspondingly detailed picture of the operation of the demesnes, the herds and flocks can be drawn.

In 6 Elizabeth Bolton demesne was divided into two accounting units. The first, which included the site of the monastery, was in the charge of Henry Atkinson, deputy receiver, who was charged with the collection of rents totalling £54 11s. 3d. and, after allowances of £14 17s. 10d., owed £39 14s. 5d. One of his allowances was for half of Steadhouse which was in the lord's hands for the use of the stockman.¹² The larger part of the Bolton demesnes was in the charge of Stirk the stockman. The book value of the Bolton demesne lands in his hands was £109 15s. 8d.. Of this lands worth £75 17s. 8d. — and probably amounting to 750–800 customary acres — were used for the lord's cattle and sheep. The remainder — lands with a rental value of £33 18s. 0d. — were in Stirk's hands and rented as agistment. This brought in a total income of £61 13s. 2d., against which there was charged costs of £16 13s. 5d. which included the costs of hay making (£9 13s. 1d.) and smaller sums for bitumen for the sheep, the conveying of animals into Westmorland and the wages of two hands.¹³ Stirk owed a balance of £43 19s. 9d. He also accounted for the rent of several other small parcels.

The cash account for 5 Elizabeth opens with the receipt of £18 6s. 0d. from the sale of wool and continues with income of 104s. 5d. for the sale of surplus animals and the advance of £60 from Atkinson the deputy receiver for the purchase of more stock. Total receipts came to £83 0s. 3d. This was then spent on the purchase of thirty-two oxen

¹⁰. YAS, MD 319, p. 65.

¹¹. YAS, Skipton Castle MSS, DD121/38/23. The accounts are for the years ending Michaelmas 1562 and 1563.

¹². *Ibid.*, mm. 6r–7r.

¹³. There is no sign that Stirk received a wage. However, he held a lease for life of the tenement called Chelker, rental value 17s. 11d., for which he paid a notional rent of 4d. (m. 7r). Tar, incidentally, was used as a general panacea for a wide range of sheep ailments including maggot infestations and the rot (R. Trow-Smith, *A history of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957), pp. 248–49).

(£53 10s. 2d.), ten cows (56s. 8d.), ninety-eight lambs (£19 11s. 4d.) and casual expenses (3s. 4d.), giving a total of £76 1s. 6d. and a credit balance of £6 18s. 11d.¹⁴ The account for 6 Elizabeth was really only for the expenditure of a float of £41 provided by Atkinson which was all, save for a small balance, spent on cattle fairs at Skipton.¹⁵

The stock accounts for the two years are tabulated in Tables 2 and 3. The accounts are arranged on the normal charge/discharge principle. For each type of animal, they commence with the opening balance of animals left from the previous year. To this is added the animals which passed through the stockman's hands that year, whether acquired by purchase, maturation or transfer within the estates.¹⁶ The opening balance and the additions give the charge, the total number of animals whose fate was to be explained. The discharge part of the account explains where the animals went: some may have been eaten, others transferred to other heads in the accounts as they aged and some sold. The animals remaining in the stockman's hands at the end of the year formed the remainder which, in turn, became the opening balance of the next year's account. Whilst far superior to the inventories, these accounts are still less revealing than we might like. It is hard to inject any element of seasonality into them, to establish, for instance, when animals were bought and sold. They say virtually nothing about hay, an essential element in the pastoral economy, or the sale of the skins and pelts of slaughtered animals. Nor do the accounts give us much clue as to the size of the wool clip. In 5 Elizabeth Stirke sold 72 stones of wool for £18 8s. 0d., but this may not be the whole wool clip. The 1569 inventory reports 170 stones of wool worth £5 in the woolhouse at Bolton, but this may be the clip of more than one year awaiting sale. By silence they imply that butter and cheese were not made, but the manufacture of dairy products may have been the responsibility of another officer within the household. Nor can the accounts be used to calculate the fertility or mortality of the animals, for they describe only the Craven end of a bi-focal operation. There was a regular transfer of animals, particularly cattle and sheep, between Bolton and the Cliffords' vaccary at Newhall in Stainsmoor and their sheep farm at Whinfell in Westmorland.

The obvious justification for the family keeping two or three stock farms is that each group served a different set of Clifford houses — the Westmorland farms served Brougham and the other Eden valley houses, while Bolton served the castle at Skipton and the house at Barden. Some of the transfers of animals were clearly to take account of the location of the Clifford household, but there is a larger question as to whether the two stock operations were actually integrated. The accounts offer some clues that this was indeed so. The first curiosity of the Bolton accounts is that they suggest that no calves were born to Bolton cows. There were bulls at Bolton, but given that there were apparently no calves born to the cows and that the calves in the accounts were drawn from Westmorland — thirty in the first year, fifty-three in the second — it has to be questioned whether the Bolton herd was a breeding herd. The cows in the Bolton accounts also appear to be destined for the kitchens. The appearance is that calves were brought from Westmorland and kept at Bolton throughout the first two years of their life. The majority were then returned to Westmorland — eighty animals in 5 Elizabeth, fifty animals in 6

¹⁴. *Ibid.*, m. 23^r. Seventeen oxen at Skipton on the Vigil of St Trinity, nine at Appletreewick on the Feast of St Luke (18 October) and six at Skipton on the Feast of St Martin (11 November) (m. 18^r).

¹⁵. *Ibid.*, m. 5^r. The same financial arrangements existed in 8 Elizabeth. The demesne lands of Bolton in the hands of the lord (i.e. in the charge of his stockman), after his expenses, were worth £73 3s. 4d.; the other demesnes £44 14s. 1d. after the deduction of lands in hand. The stockkeeper spent £38 on the purchase of cattle, and his sale of cattle and wool raised, after costs, £67 8s. 7d. (DD121/29/5, valor of 8 Elizabeth, which I hope to print in the future in my collection of early Clifford accounts).

¹⁶. In 6 Elizabeth some animals came from the goods of John Watkinson of Silsden, a felon.

TABLE 2: The Bolton herd

Year ending Michaelmas 5 Elizabeth				Year ending Michaelmas 6 Elizabeth				
Calves	opening from Westmorland tithe calves	47 30 5	to stirks	47	opening from Westmorland tithe calves from Watkinson charge	35 53 10 1 99	to stirks dead	35 2
Stirks of 2 years	charge	82	remain	35			remain	62
	opening from calves	33	to bullocks	2	opening from calves	54	to Westmorland	50
	from Westmorland	47 16	to Westmorland dead	39 2	from Westmorland	35 30	to bulls sold	3 1
	other charge	1 97			from Watkinson charge	1 120		1 66
Heifers of 3 years	opening others charge	16 2 18	to kitchens to Westmorland remain	1 17 nil	opening	nil		
	opening from stirks charge	22 2 24	to Westmorland remain	24 nil	opening	nil		
cows	opening from Westmorland from heifers others	16 12 1 3	to Westmorland to kitchens at Barden sold	10 8 1	opening from Westmorland from Watkinson heriot bought charge	13 6 6 1 1 27	to kitchens	16
	charge	32	remain	13			remain	11
	opening purchase from 4 year olds	53 32 8	to kitchens at Appleby to kitchens at Barden	18 28	opening purchase	53 28	to kitchens	65
	from Westmorland others	4 2			from Westmorland from Watkinson heriot charge	19 3 1 104		39
Bulls	charge	99	remain	53			remain	
	opening	4	to kitchens	1	opening from stirks charge	3 3 6	to kitchens remain	1 5

Source: computed from Yorkshire Archaeological Society, DD121/38/23, mm. 8^r-10^r, 18^r-20^r.

TABLE 3: The Bolton flocks*

Year ending Michaelmas 5 Elizabeth				Year ending Michaelmas 6 Elizabeth				
Lambs and hogs	opening lambs	91	to tups	11	opening lambs	369	to tups	30
	tithe lambs	154	to wethers	10	tithe lambs	57	to wethers	239
	purchased at Giggleswick	37	to ewes	24	strays	40	to ewes	59
		240	to kitchens at Barden	7		2	to kitchens	17
	charge	522	dead sold	46	charge	467	dead	9
Ewes [<i>oves matrices</i>]			remain	55		lost	32	
			remain	369		remain	81	
	remain from lambs	112	to kitchens	54	remain from lambs	130	kitchens	134
	purchased of goods of John Proctor	24	dead	10	strays from Westmorland	59	dead	6
	charge	58			charge	9		
Wethers [<i>oves ariet'</i>]		194	remain	130		8	remain	66
	remain from lambs	215	to kitchens (Appleby)	30	remain from lambs	210	to kitchens	268
	purchased of goods of John Proctor	10	to kitchens (Barden)	160	from Westmorland	239	dead	7
	purchased at Appletreewick Fair	80	?	2	purchased	191	lost at Arncliffe	2
	strays charge	98	dead	4		40		
Tups [<i>ovibus vervic'</i>]		3			strays charge	5	remain	408
		406	remain	210		685		
	remain from lambs	17	kitchens	26	remain from lambs	5	to kitchens	50
	purchase	11			from Westmorland	30		
	charge	3			strays charge	20		
		31	remain	5		4	remain	9
						59		

* The flock accounts employ a long hundred of 120, so Ciiij^{xx} vj is 206. The accounts refer to this practice as '*major numeral*' (eg m. 21^r). Source: computed from Yorkshire Archaeological Society, DD121/38/23, mm. 10^c-11^r, 21^r-22^r.

Elizabeth. In the second accounting year the Bolton demesne contained no three- or four-year-old animals at all which may indicate a new division of work between Newhall and Bolton. We then have smaller numbers of cows returned to Bolton — twelve in 5 Elizabeth, six the following year — which are sent to the kitchens. The majority of the animals slaughtered were oxen — forty-six in 5 Elizabeth, sixty-five in 6 Elizabeth — but the accounts show that many of these were purchased for slaughtering rather than coming from Westmorland. In the first year thirty-two were purchased, in the second twenty-eight, and this surely makes it plain that the breeding operation at Stainmoor could satisfy no more than half the consumption needs of the household. The cycle may therefore be summarised. Calves were born in Westmorland, transferred on to what may have been much richer grass at Bolton, then returned to Westmorland either as cows or bullocks. A small number of cows and a much larger number of oxen returned to Bolton to be slaughtered, but the herd was too small to support the demand for meat from the household and oxen were purchased in large numbers to be slaughtered.

The sheep flock at Bolton was a breeding flock, but far from self-sufficient in numbers. At the beginning of the account for 5 Elizabeth, there were 435 sheep at Bolton, nearly half of which were wethers (castrated rams). At the beginning of 6 Elizabeth there were 714 and at the end of that year 504. The numbers of each type of animal prove to have been volatile, as may be seen from Table 4. The core of the Bolton flock was a small breeding flock of ewes, 112 and 130 in number in 1562 and 1563 but only sixty-six in 1564 after over 100 were consigned to the kitchen. This flock was reinforced each year by the addition of its own lambs and lambs received for tithes. There were also transfers between Westmorland and Yorkshire. Thirty animals were sent to the Appleby kitchen in 5 Elizabeth and 191 came from Westmorland to Bolton in 6 Elizabeth. But these were insufficient to meet the demand for mutton. In 5 Elizabeth 240 lambs and hoggs were purchased at Giggleswick and ninety-eight wethers at Appletreewick Fair. The lambs were largely male and appear as wethers in the following year's account. This offers us the clue that the Bolton flock was again primarily orientated towards the supply of meat — particularly mutton from the wethers — to the household, and, as much of this supply was achieved by purchase, the total number of sheep on the demesne is far larger than could have arisen from the natural increase of the flock. It was perhaps the core flock which practised transhumance, for the accounts contain allowances for taking the sheep from Bolton to Arncliffe and for sheep lost on Malham Moor and on Clowder, the hill on the west side of Littondale.

As the stockman was responsible for making purchases of animals, he also had a cash account. The account for 5 Elizabeth shows that Stirk had a cash income of £83, of which £18 came from the sale of wool, 60s. from the sale of surplus lambs and 33s. 8d.

TABLE 4: The size of the Bolton flock

	Year ending Michaelmas		
	1562	1563	1564
Lambs and hoggs	91	369	81
Ewes	112	130	66
Wethers	215	210	348
Tups	17	5	9
Total	435	714	504

Source: computed from Yorkshire Archaeological Society, DD121/38/23

from the sale of the pelts of cattle which had died in his charge. The balance came from the lord's receiver; virtually all was spent on the purchase of animals.

The larger part of Bolton demesne at the beginning of the 1560s was therefore being used as a stock farm of an unusual sort, in which the rearing of animals seems to have been less important than the holding of cattle in transit between the Westmorland vaccary and the kitchens or the market and the kitchens. The Bolton enterprise sold a negligible number of animals: it was an extension of the household. This poses an additional question. It can be seen from the dissolution survey and the subsequent Clifford accounts that at the dissolution of Bolton Priory the major part of the township of Bolton had been kept in hand by the monastery as a demesne farm. Using Bolton as a cattle and sheep ranch was a convenient alternative to breaking the township into tenant farms, but it raises the question of how the Cliffords managed to victual their household before their purchase of Bolton. The need for extensive tracts of land to hold (and perhaps breed) sheep and cattle was surely answered and not created by their acquisition of Bolton.

Here we have to recognise that the Cliffords had two houses in Craven — Skipton and Barden — and that alternate earls preferred one over the other. The tenth Lord Clifford (d. 1523) was largely responsible for Barden; the first Earl (d. 1542) preferred Skipton and the second Earl (d. 1569) Barden. The answer, I would suggest, is that the tenth Lord used Barden Scale Park, the New Park or the Great Park and the first Earl the parks at Skipton as their reception and breeding stations. The implication of the Bolton accounts is that a big house needed a sizeable area dedicated to breeding and holding cattle for the kitchens. If the tenth Lord erected Barden Tower, then he had to create space for the cattle. He did this by the creation of a park into which he incorporated lands formerly in the hands of tenants. There is no clear proof, however, that the tenth Lord had a cattle herd at Barden. The accounts for 1503 show receipts for the agistment of lands in Barden Park, but there is also a note that the Old Park in Skipton was kept in the hands of the Lord for his cattle. By 1543 the herbage of the Great Park at Barden was farmed to Humphrey Polson, the forester of Barden and palliser of the Great Park there, for £10 probably because it had become surplus after the transfer of the cattle and sheep operation to Bolton. We may speculate that the parks around great houses were not only for the recreation of their owners, but were made to service the consumption needs of the house.

The fate of the herd may be quickly discussed. The second Earl of Cumberland died in 1569. His son, George, third earl, was a minor who, after his majority, was rarely resident on his estates. There was no need for a sheep and cattle operation like that described here. It can be shown that the executors of the second Earl sold up the Bolton demesne herd and flock during the year after the earl's death (Table 5). The demesne

TABLE 5: Sales of cattle and sheep by the second earl's executors, 1570

12 stots and 8 stirks	£27 0s. 0d.
80 fat wethers @ £4 13s. 4d. the score	£18 13s. 4d.
81 young wethers @ 66s. 8d. the score	£13 10s. 0d.
20 wethers of the worst sort	£2 8s. 8d.
20 of the best ewes	£3 0s. 0d.
49 of the worst sort of ewes	£6 18s. 10d.
142 hoggs	£14 0s. 0d.
100 lambs	£8 6s. 8d.

Source: Chatsworth, MSS of the Duke of Devonshire, Bolton MSS, Sundry 1204–1670 no. 84.

had perhaps already been run down: there were only twenty head of cattle, but nearly 500 sheep including 100 lambs, a small breeding flock of sixty-nine ewes and 181 wethers. It would seem unlikely that there was much of an animal enterprise at Bolton after the third Earl entered his estates in 1579.

One is impressed by the scale and complexity of the Clifford cattle and sheep operation, but, to address the questions posed earlier, it turns out to have been almost entirely a meat-supplying operation. The herds and flocks were demographically unviable, and were able to meet only part of the demands of the Clifford household for meat. They were constantly reinforced by the purchase of animals, oxen or sheep of a variety of ages, within Craven. The household was as much reliant on the animals produced by the Cliffords' tenants as it was on the progeny of its own animals.

A DIRECTORY OF PARLIAMENTARIAN ALLEGIANCE IN YORKSHIRE DURING THE CIVIL WARS

By Andrew J. Hopper

INTRODUCTION

The civil wars of the seventeenth century were of vital importance to the development of subsequent, and arguably current, British political culture. Given this, the problem of allegiance is crucial. How parliamentarians and royalists alike attracted or coerced support, and from what social groups they drew their respective followings, remain more significant in casting light upon seventeenth-century social and political relationships than the outcome of the often indecisive battles. John Morrill has even argued that this process of forming allegiance, and consequently of raising and establishing armed forces, was more significant in the outcome of the war than battlefield action itself: 'The battles which were fought in the inns and secluded manor houses of rural England were to prove more decisive in deciding the outcome of the civil war than were most of the events on the battlefield.'¹

This directory was produced as an appendix to my doctoral thesis examining parliamentary allegiance in Yorkshire during the Civil War.² Owing to the King's presence at York in 1642, the county was strategically crucial at the outbreak of war. When the King marched south to Nottingham that August, Parliament began recruiting extensive support. In conjunction with the accompanying maps, this directory provides an illustration of the places of origin of the county's known parliamentary activists. It visibly reinforces the traditional view that Parliament drew its strongest support in Yorkshire from the Hull vicinity and the West Riding cloth manufacturing districts, encompassing the large Pennine hinterlands of Leeds, Bradford and Halifax.

A guide to the approximate population of Yorkshire at the outbreak of civil war is found in the Hearth Tax returns of the 1660s and 1670s. J. D. Purdy has calculated that the population of Yorkshire at this time was between 344,500 and 430,000.³ Wartime losses through dearth, military action, plague and disease indicate that if anything the population was likely to have been higher in 1642. According to Purdy's estimates, perhaps as many as 220,000 people were resident in the West Riding, over half of the entire county's total population, compared to maximums of 80,000 and 120,000 for the East and North Ridings respectively.⁴ The largest towns were York with around 10,000 inhabitants, followed by Hull and Leeds with populations of between 6000 and 7000. Beverley was the next largest with a population of up to 3000, while Halifax,

¹ J. Morrill, *The Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630-48* (2nd edn, London, 1999), p. 74.

² A. J. Hopper, 'The extent of support for Parliament in Yorkshire during the early stages of the First Civil War' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1999).

³ J. D. Purdy, *Yorkshire Hearth Tax Returns* (Studies in Regional and Local History, no. 7, University of Hull, 1991), p. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 69, 95, 123.

Wakefield, Sheffield, Doncaster, Scarborough and Whitby were the only other towns consisting of over 400 households.⁵

Rather than studying army structures, my thesis examined the nature of parliamentary support. Building upon the valuable work of Dr J. T. Cliffe,⁶ I examined popular parliamentary allegiance in addition to gentry allegiance and, most importantly, the relationship and interaction between them. Therefore the directory was not restricted to the gentry, but sought to include all that could be discovered about the more elusive social strata below them. Yet Cliffe's book provides a useful starting point. He addressed the allegiance of the county gentry, the established landowning squires engaged in the public life of the county, and produced a table of their Civil War allegiance (Table 1).

TABLE 1: THE ALLEGIANCE OF YORKSHIRE GENTRY FAMILIES

	<i>North Riding</i>	<i>East Riding</i>	<i>West Riding</i>	<i>City of York</i>	<i>Total</i>
Royalists	68	44	125	5	242
Parliamentarians	35	37	54	2	128
Divided or changed	15	19	31	4	69
Neutral	77	42	110	11	240
Total	195	142	320	22	679

This table is reproduced with the kind permission of Dr Cliffe and is drawn from his pioneering work: J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), p. 338.

Religion was not the sole factor in instilling parliamentary loyalties among the Yorkshire gentry. Of the 138 families Cliffe denotes as Puritan, only sixty-four supported Parliament during the war, exactly half his county total of 128 parliamentary gentry families.⁷ He points to an 'intermixture' of idealism and self-interest, kinship ties and the situation of their estates as further factors in gentry allegiance.⁸ Attitudes to honour must also be added, for as John Morrill states: 'It was a time of intense status-consciousness, in which heads of families measured their standing by their position within the pecking order of county rankings.'⁹ By the outbreak of war, two rival conceptions of honour had emerged. The first and oldest stressed lineage and pedigree, while the more recent emphasised learning, virtue, Godly religion and public service.¹⁰ The former naturally biased the gentry towards a royalist allegiance, while the latter tended to lead towards parliamentarianism. While it remains difficult to generalise, Cliffe argued that on the whole parliamentary gentry were inferior to their royalist counterparts in social status, ancestry and also predictably in numbers, mustering only 128 families to 242 royalist ones.¹¹ It may have been a conscious reaction to this that led parliamentary gentry into adopting these new ways of expressing honour, so strongly grounded in religion.

The strength of gentry support for Parliament varied widely across the county, depending upon religious culture, geography, and military domination but especially

⁵. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 129, 138.

⁶. J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969).

⁷. *Ibid.*, pp. 262–63, 336, 343.

⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁹. J. Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London, 1993), p. 184.

¹⁰. M. E. James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485–1642* (Past and Present, supplement, 3, 1978), pp. 3–6; A. J. Fletcher, 'Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. A. J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 93, 104; R. P. Cust, 'Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour: The Writings of Sir Thomas Shirley', *Midland History*, 23 (1998), p. 48.

¹¹. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 336.

upon kinship and patronage networks. In traditionally rural Richmondshire gentry Roman Catholicism remained strong, and the few parliamentary squires understandably felt vulnerable. Their more numerous allies in the south of the East Riding enjoyed the safety of the parliamentary fortress of Hull, which in 1642 became the focal point for the activism of the East Riding parliamentary gentry. A hinterland of gentry support stretched north-eastwards in a crescent through Beverley, which contained the strongest concentration of support for Parliament from well-established gentry in the entire county.

Despite the greater population of the West Riding and the presence of Parliament's northern generals, the Fairfaxes, gentry support there was more limited. Lacking the royalists' level of support from among the county gentry, the Fairfaxes were compelled to rely heavily upon the support of the parochial gentry in the clothing districts and especially upon minor urban elites who strictly speaking were not gentlemen at all. They also conspicuously encouraged and exploited unparalleled activism from among the clothing districts' middling and poorer sorts where the explosive combination of popular anti-Catholicism, a severe economic depression and fear of plunder at the hands of ill-disciplined Cavaliers blended to produce an environment receptive to popular anti-royalist insurgency.¹² The local people's successful defence of Bradford against the royalists on 18 December 1642, which occurred without the leadership of any county gentry, inspired the popular support which swelled the Fairfaxes' first army.¹³ These events provoked many of their more lukewarm subordinates and colleagues into changing sides.¹⁴ Cliffe has usefully noted that: 'Among the gentry who were actually seated in the clothing area, the royalists heavily outnumbered the parliamentarians.'¹⁵ Indeed, P. R. Newman asserts that more royalist colonels came from the West Riding than any other English or Welsh county.¹⁶ This paradox supports Ann Hughes's hypothesis that wherever there was strong support for Parliament among the middling and poorer sorts, the gentry, fearful for the preservation of the social order, 'were more inclined to an authoritarian politics'.¹⁷ So in this part of Yorkshire, gentry influence was not the foremost determinant in dictating popular allegiance. On the contrary, it was attitudes towards popular anti-royalist insurgency, at least in part, that dictated gentry allegiance. This is so important because it questions the tendency of 'revisionist' historians to concentrate on high politics and events at the centre, a tendency that has tended to minimise the significance of ordinary people in the Civil Wars. John Adamson's contention that the outbreak of war was dominated by baronial faction has little relevance in Yorkshire.¹⁸ Through the work of David Underdown, Ann Hughes and Mark Stoye it has become increasingly accepted that many ordinary English people chose their allegiance for themselves.¹⁹ The question of the identity of these local partisans, some of whom are revealed in this directory, must be central in explaining why there was a war at all.

¹² A. J. Hopper, 'The clubmen of the West Riding of Yorkshire during the First Civil War: "Bradford club-law"', *Northern History*, 36.1 (May 2000), pp. 59–72.

¹³ A. J. Hopper, *The formation and emergence of the army of the Fairfaxes, 1642–3* (University of York, Borthwick Papers, 95, 1997).

¹⁴ A. J. Hopper, '"Fitted for Desperation": Honour and Treachery in Parliament's Yorkshire Command, 1642–43', *History*, 86 (2001), pp. 138–54.

¹⁵ Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 340.

¹⁶ P. R. Newman, *The Old Service: Royalist Regimental Colonels and the Civil War, 1642–6* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 250–51.

¹⁷ A. Hughes, *The Causes of the Civil War* (2nd edn, Basingstoke, 1998), p. 140.

¹⁸ J. S. A. Adamson, 'The Baronial Context of the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 40 (1990), pp. 93–120.

¹⁹ D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1985); A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620–60* (Cambridge, 1987); M. Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon During the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994).

It is hoped that the directory's 500 entries will provide a useful tool for local historians, Civil War enthusiasts, genealogists and students of history alike. It lists those parliamentarians whose places of residence have been ascertained beyond reasonable doubt. Wherever possible their Yorkshire residence of 1642 has been given, even if they were employed outside the county. Outside the military itself, only those that can be identified as being active supporters have been included. Constables, collectors or commissioners who may have been forced to act against their will have been omitted, while those that changed sides during the conflict have been marked with an asterisk. It is therefore hoped that the danger of imposing a collective analysis upon such a heterogeneous range of support has been minimised. The directory does not seek to analyse levels of commitment or classify the nature of support, merely to illustrate its geographical basis on the accompanying maps and provide a short list of source materials for each entry.

Where known, the list indicates the occupation of each entry, any public offices they held in the period 1642–60, and in the case of the military, their highest known rank. The entry 'soldier' indicates a common soldier, while the entry 'trooper' indicates a cavalry soldier. While such a survey can never hope to be exhaustive, it is hoped that in conjunction with the accompanying maps, it will illustrate the location of the broad areas of known parliamentarian strength in the county. Only towns with a pre-war population that was likely to be over 2000 inhabitants have been shown on the maps.

THE DIRECTORY

This has been divided as follows:

1.	The City of York	9 entries
2.	The Town and County of Kingston upon Hull	49 entries
3.	The North Riding	57 entries
4.	The East Riding	82 entries
5.	The West Riding	309 entries

The Ridings have been divided by parishes, which are divided by townships or other localities where appropriate. The parishes with the most entries are Halifax 48, Leeds 44 and Bradford 19.

Authorities after the first citation are generally abbreviated. Some frequent abbreviations used throughout are listed below.

An asterisk indicates that the supporter changed sides.

Bean	W. W. Bean, <i>The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England</i> (Hull, 1890).
Bell	<i>The Fairfax Correspondence: Memorials of the Civil War</i> , ed. R. Bell (London, 1849), 2 vols.
BL	British Library.
C469/1	WYAS Wakefield, Parliamentary Army, Councils of War at Ripon, Knaresborough, York and Pontefract, 1647–48.
Cliffe	J. T. Cliffe, <i>The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War</i> (London, 1969).
CCAM	<i>Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money (Domestic) 1642–1656</i> , ed. M. A. E. Green (London, 1888), parts i–iii.
CCCD	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Compounding (Domestic), 1643–1660</i> , ed. M. A. E. Green (London, 1889), parts i–iv.
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i> .
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> .

- Ducatus* R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis: or, the Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes, and Parts Adjacent in the West Riding of the County of York, with notes and additions by T. D. Whitaker* (2nd edn, Leeds, 1816).
- Dugdale W. Dugdale, *The Visitation of the County of Yorke*, Surtees Society, 36 (1859).
- ERYAS East Riding of Yorkshire Archive Service, Beverley.
- Firth and Rait *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London, 1911), 3 vols.
- Forster G. C. F. Forster, 'County Government in Yorkshire during the Interregnum', *Northern History*, 12 (1976).
- Greaves and Zaller *A biographical dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. R. L. Greaves and R. Zaller (Brighton, 1982), 3 vols.
- HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Hatfield *Historical Notices of Doncaster*, 3rd ser., ed. C. W. Hatfield (London, 1870).
- Hodgson *The Original Memoirs Written During the Great Civil War being the life of Sir Henry Slingsby and memoirs of Captain Hodgson with notes*, ed. W. Scott (Edinburgh, 1806).
- The Hull Letters* *The Hull Letters: Documents from the Hull records, 1625–46*, ed. T. T. Willdridge (Hull, 1886).
- Keeler M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640–1641: A Biographical Study of its Members* (Philadelphia, 1954).
- Lister J. Lister, 'A Genuine Account of the Sore Calamities that befell Bradford in the time of the Civil War', in *Collectanea Bradfordiana: A Collection of Papers on the History of Bradford and the Neighbourhood*, ed. A. Holroyd (Saltaire, 1873).
- Marchant R. A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560–1642* (London, 1960).
- NH *Northern History*.
- NYCRO North Yorkshire County Record Office.
- Parliament History* *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England, being a faithful account of all the most remarkable transactions in Parliament from the earliest times to the Restoration of King Charles II, by Several Hands* (London, 1753), vols 10–13.
- Priestley* J. Priestley, 'Some Memoirs Concerning the family of the Priestleys written at the request of a friend by Jonathan Priestley, 1696, aetatis suae 63', in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. C. Jackson, Surtees Society, 77 (1883).
- PRO Public Record Office.
- Rushworth J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (London, 1691), part iii, vol. ii.
- SP State Papers.
- TT Thomason Tract.
- WYAS West Yorkshire Archive Service.
- YAJ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.
- YML York Minster Library, Civil War Tract.

1. THE CITY OF YORK

- ALLANSON, Sir William, alderman, M.P.: BL, TT E249(24), *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament, 3-10 July* (London, 1643), p. 10; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; Keeler, pp. 83-84; Greaves and Zaller, I, p. 7; H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790* (London, 1966), p. 305; W. L. F. Nuttall, 'The Yorkshire Commissioners Appointed for the Trial of King Charles the First', *YAJ*, 43 (1971), p. 151; A. R. Warmington, 'The Corporation of York in Peace and War, 1638-1645', *York Historian*, 9 (1990), p. 18.
- BEVERLEY, Joseph, sequestrator: PRO, SP 19/7/102; SP 28/250/part 1/60; CCAM, p. 64.
- COOLE, John, seaman: CCCD, p. 473.
- DICKINSON, Thomas, commissioner, J.P.: Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229-30.
- HODGSON, Thomas, commissioner: Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229-30.
- HOYLE, Thomas, alderman, M.P.: BL, TT E116(9), *The last true Newes from Yorke* (London, 1642); *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; C. Cross, 'A Man of Conscience in Seventeenth-Century Urban Politics: Alderman Hoyle of York', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. J. Morrill, P. Slack and D. Woolf (Oxford, 1993); Greaves and Zaller, II, p. 118; Warmington, 'The Corporation of York in Peace and War', pp. 16, 22.
- SWAINE, Captain Francis: PRO, SP 16/513/141; SP 19/121/20b; SP 19/126/9; SP 28/249.
- WINTER, Samuel, rector of St Michael, Ousebridge, formerly of Cottingham: BL, Birch MS, 4460, fol. 34; Marchant, p. 293; W. J. Sheils, 'Provincial Preaching on the Eve of the Civil War: Some West Riding Sermons', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. A. J. Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 1994), p. 291.
- VAUX, John, alderman: BL, TT E116(9), *The last true Newes from Yorke* (London, 1642); *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; Warmington, 'The Corporation of York in Peace and War', pp. 16, 18.

2. THE TOWN AND COUNTY OF KINGSTON UPON HULL

- BARNARD, John, alderman: PRO, SP 28/189; *The Hull Letters*, pp. 33-34; Rushworth, pp. 276-80; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; J. G. Hall, *A History of South Cave* (Hull, 1892), p. 32.
- BARNARD, Henry, alderman: PRO, SP 28/189; Hall, *A History of South Cave*, p. 32.
- BARNARD, Leonard, alderman, captain of the watch: *The Hull Letters*, pp. 152, 155, 158; Hall, *A History of South Cave*, p. 32.
- BLAIDE, Joseph, alderman: PRO, SP 28/189.
- BILLOPS, Captain Robert: PRO, SP 23/99/299-319.
- CARLEIL, William: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/30.
- CHAMBERS, John, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 151.
- COATESWORTH, Thomas, artillery captain: J. Tickell, *History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon Hull* (Hull, 1798), pp. 465-66.
- DENMAN, Nicholas, alderman, and mayor in 1645: PRO, SP 28/189; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; Rushworth, pp. 276-80; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.
- DEWICKE, Francis, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152; Dugdale, p. 136.
- FOX, Lancelot, alderman: PRO, SP 28/189.
- FOXLEY, Mr, senior: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- FUGELL, Joshua: PRO, SP 24/48.
- FUGILL, Captain William, bookseller: BL, Add. MS 21,427, fol. 123; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 28; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; J. Lawson, *A Town and Grammar School through Six Centuries: A History of Hull Grammar School against its Local Background* (London, 1963), p. 128; T. Gent, *Gent's History of Hull Reprinted in fac-simile of the original of 1735* (Hull, 1869), p. 53.
- GAITES, Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffrey: BL, TT E121(45), *An Exact Relation of the Several Passages* (London, 1642), p. 14; *The Hull Letters*, p. 155; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229-30; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.
- GOUGE, John, curate: C. Cross, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers: Religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, University of York, Borthwick Paper, 67 (1985), p. 23.
- HARDSTAFFE, Major Edward: PRO, SP 19/144/54-55.
- HALL, Joshua, sequestrator: *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.

- HOLLYS, Maccabeus, alderman and merchant, lieutenant of the watch: *The Hull Letters*, pp. 152, 158; Tickell, *History of Hull*, p. 467; I. J. Gentles and W. J. Sheils, *Confiscation and Restoration: The Archbishopric Estates and the Civil War*, University of York, Borthwick Paper, 59 (1981), p. 41.
- JEFFERSON, Martin, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 151.
- JOHNSON, Robert, clerk: Rushworth, pp. 276–80.
- LAWRENCE, Mr, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- LINCOLNE, Maurice, alderman, lieutenant of the watch: *The Hull Letters*, pp. 152, 158.
- LUPTON, Mr, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- METCALFE, Henry, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- MORTON, Robert, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 151.
- NYE, Philip, minister: Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull, Hotham MSS, DDHO/1/35 and DDHO/1/41; *The Hull Letters*, p. 38.
- ORTON, Captain Edward: PRO, SP 28/265/217, 222.
- PELHAM, Peregrine, M.P., regicide: *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; Greaves and Zaller, iii, p. 17; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YA* 7, 43, p. 150.
- POPPE, William, alderman: PRO, SP 28/189; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; *The First Order Book of the Hull Trinity House, 1632–1665*, ed. F. W. Brooks, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 105 (1941), pp. 56–57; Rushworth, pp. 276–80; I. J. Gentles and W. J. Sheils, *Confiscation and Restoration: The Archbishopric Estates and the Civil War*, University of York, Borthwick Paper, 59 (1981), p. 41.
- PENROSE, John, alderman: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; Rushworth, pp. 276–80.
- RAIKES, Thomas, mayor, 1643–44: PRO, SP 28/189; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; *The Hull Letters*, pp. 39–41, 62; Rushworth, pp. 276–80; J. D. Legard, *The Legards of Anlaby and Ganton*, (London, 1926), p. 44; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.
- RAIKES, Captain Andrew: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/67.
- RAIKES, Robert, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152; M. T. Craven, *A New and Complete History of the Borough of Hedon* (Driffield, 1972), pp. 81, 119–21.
- RAIKES, William, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- RICHARDSON, Captain Michael, attorney: PRO, E121/3/3, n. 117; E121/5/7, n. 109; Bell, 1, pp. 66–67, 214.
- RIPLEY, Robert, alderman: PRO, SP 28/249; Dugdale, p. 130; Tickell, *History of Hull*, p. 461.
- ROBINSON, Mr, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- ROGERS, Mr, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.
- ROPER, Lancelot, alderman: Rushworth, pp. 276–80; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.
- SALMON, Captain Edward: Greaves and Zaller, iii, pp. 133–34.
- SCARTH, Sergeant-Major Timothy: BL, Add. MS 21,418, fols 181, 238; *The Hull Letters*, p. 157.
- SPOFFORD, John, minister to Hull Castle: *The Hull Letters*, p. 160.
- SPRATT, Peter, soldier: 'The Burial Register of Bradford Parish Church', ed. T. T. Empsall, *Bradford Antiquary*, new ser., 1 (1900), p. 160.
- STOCKDALE, Robert, secretary to Sir John Hotham: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/74, BRS/7/79, BRS/7/81; Tickell, *History of Hull*, p. 382; J. J. Sheahan, *History of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull* (2nd edn, Beverley, 1866), p. 141.
- TALBOT, Captain Thomas: PRO, E121/3/3, n. 117; E121/5/7, n. 109; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Bell, 1, pp. 66–67, 214; Greaves and Zaller, iii, p. 223.
- VEVERS, Robert, trooper: BL, Add. MS 21,417, fol. 21; 21,418, fol. 289; 21,427, fol. 9.
- WOOD, Richard, sheriff: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; *The Hull Letters*, p. 156.
- WRIGHTINTON, Mr, alderman: *The Hull Letters*, p. 152.

3. THE NORTH RIDING

AINDERBY-STEEPLE

Morton-upon-Swale

- RYMER, Matthew: *Quarter Sessions Records*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, North Riding Records Series, old ser., 5 (1887), p. 153.

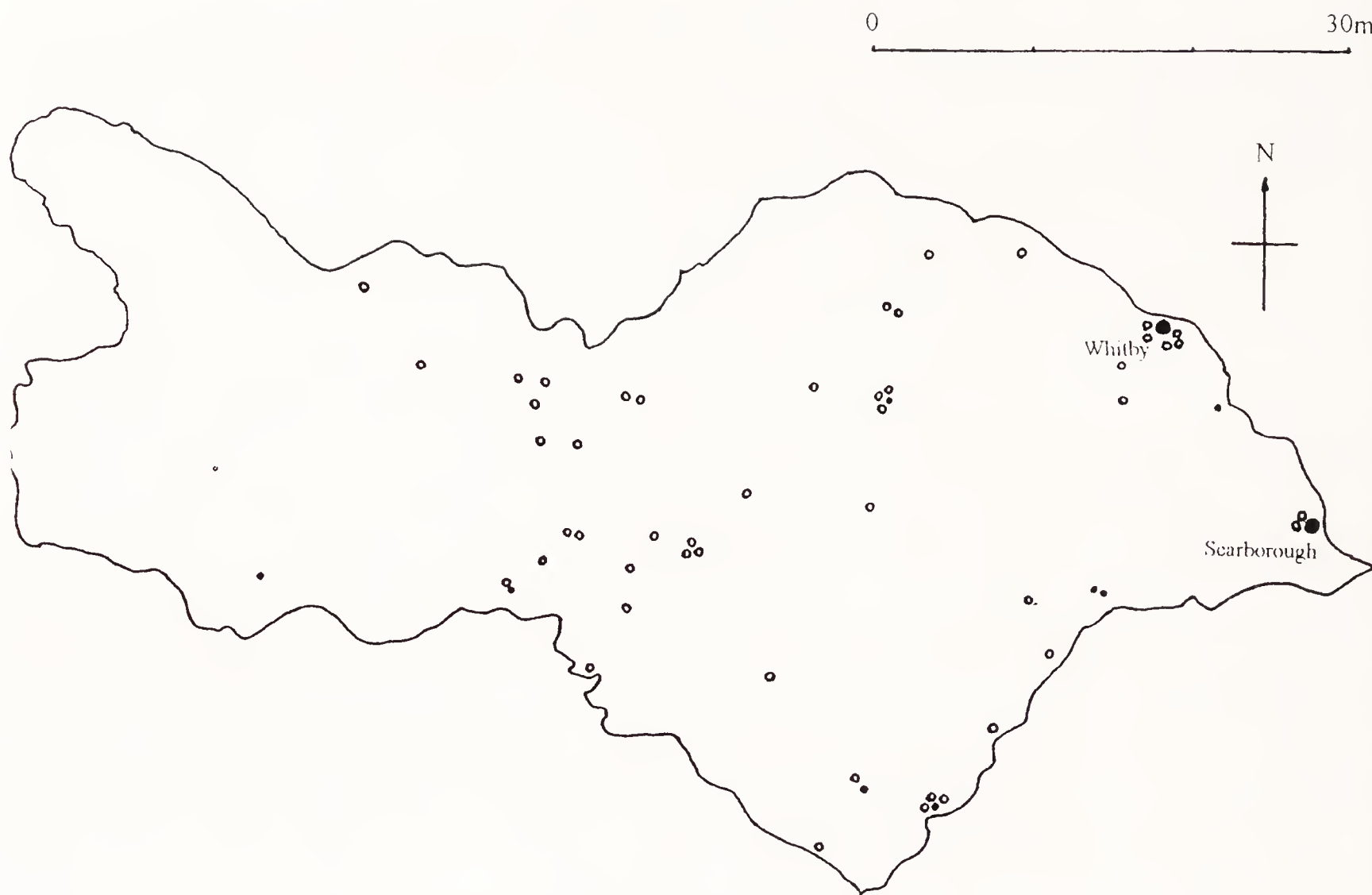


Fig. 1. Parliamentary allegiance in the North Riding.

ARNCLIFFE

MAULEVERER, Colonel James: W. H. Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy: The Life and Times of General John Lambert* (London, 1938), p. 12; W. Brown, *Ingleby Arncliffe and Its Owners* (Leeds, 1901); *Lords' Journals*, vi, p. 40; R. T. Spence, *Skipton Castle in the Great Civil War, 1642-1645* (Skipton, 1991), p. 67; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 156-57.

AYSGARTH

Askrigg

ATKINSON, John: R. L. Greaves, *'Deliver Us From Evil': The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986), p. 176.

BARTON

WILKINSON, Lieutenant Francis: BL, Add. MS 21,427, fol. 125; PRO, E121/3/3, n. 24; E121/4/8, n. 12; E121/5/5, n. 8; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills in the Time of the Commonwealth*, ed. J. W. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 9 (1890), p. 46.

BEDALE

Lasenby

PEIRSE, John: NYCRO, Northallerton, Peirse MS, ZBA 18/1/2; PRO, SP 19/6/42 and 19/118/46-48.

BOSSALL

Buttercrambe

DARLEY, Sir Richard, High Sheriff 1646-47: Rushworth, pp. 276-80.

DARLEY, Henry, M.P., J.P.: Cliffe, p. 310; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30; Bean, p. 689.

DARLEY, Captain Richard, M.P., J.P.: Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30; Bean, pp. 689, 930; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAf*, 43, p. 155.

STEVENSON, James, soldier: *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 19.

CATTERICK

Scorton township

WASTELL, Colonel John, M.P., J.P.: BL, Add MS 15,858, fol. 215; *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 153; Dugdale, p. 227; Parliament History, xii, p. 237; Forster, p. 102; Keeler, p. 380.

CUNDALL

WALTERS, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert, M.P., J.P.: Bean, p. 886; Dugdale, p. 58; Forster p. 102; R. L. Greaves, *'Deliver Us From Evil': The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 177, 179, 189, 197, 199.

EASBY

EURE, Captain George, later 6th Lord Eure, J.P.: Bean, p. 692; *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York, 1258–1832*, ed. A. Gooder, II, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 96 (1938), pp. 55–56; *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 17; Forster, p. 102.

EASINGTON

CONYERS, Captain Nicholas: PRO, E121/5/5, n. 1; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *The Hull Letters*, p. 160; Cliffe, p. 135.

FARLINGTON

READSLEY, William, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds from 1639 to 1667*, ed. G. D. Lumb, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 7 (1897), p. 183.

FYLINGDALE

Fyling

LEEDALL, William, soldier, rank unknown: *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 12.

GREAT THIRKLEBY

FRANKLAND, Sir Henry, J.P.: *The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke, 1644–1645*, ed. H. G. Tibbut, (London, 1963), p. 359; Cliffe, p. 359; Forster, p. 102.

GUISBOROUGH

CHALONER, Thomas, M.P., regicide: NYCRO, Northallerton, ZFM (MIC 1441); Bean, p. 1002; Nuttall 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAf*, 43 (1971), pp. 153–54.

CHALONER, James, M.P., J.P.: Bean, p. 717; Forster, p. 102, *Old Yorkshire*, ed. W. Smith (London, 1881), II, p. 236; Nuttall 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAf*, 43, p. 153.

HELMSLEY

Bilsdale township

DENT, Major Robert: PRO, E121/4/9, n. 98; H. Speight, *Nidderdale from Nun-Monkton to Whernside* (London, 1906), p. 121.

HINDERSKELFE TOWNSHIP (EXTRA-PAROCHIAL)

RYMER, Ralph, esq., J.P.: *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 42; Forster, p. 102.

INGLEBY GREENHOW

RIPLEY, William, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 159.

Ingleby Manor

FOULIS, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry: Bell, 1, pp. 25–30; *DNB*; Dugdale, p. 193; YML, CWT, 42–12–20, *An Exact and True relation of a Bloody Fight . . . by Sir Henry Foulis to Mr. T. Chaloner Esquire, dwelling in Drury-lane, London* (London, 1642); *The Complete Baronetage* ed. G. E. Cokayne (Gloucester, 1983), 1, p. 135.

FOULIS, Colonel Robert: E. Peacock, 'On Some Civil War Documents Relating to Yorkshire', *YAJ*, 1 (1870), p. 104; Dugdale, p. 193; J. Walker, *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland* (Stockton-on-Tees, 1972), p. 432; *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England from 1646 to 1652*, ed. H. Cary (London, 1842), 1, pp. 82–83; YML, CWT, 43–05–29, *A Fuller Relation of that Miraculous Victory which it pleased God to give unto the Parliaments forces under the command of the Right Honourable Lord Fairefax* (London, 1643), p. 6.

FOULIS, Captain William: PRO, SP 28/300/1365; Dugdale, p. 193.

KIRBY MISPERTON

Ryton township

PERCEHAY, Christopher, esq., J.P.: *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 305; *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 52; Forster, p. 102.

KIRKBY FLEETHAM

DAVILE, Captain Thomas: BL, Add. MS 21,418, fol. 17; PRO, E121/4/1, n. 30; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1.

SMELT, Matthew, committeeman: Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; Dugdale, p. 88; *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire with additions*, ed. J. W. Clay, (Exeter, 1917) iii, p. 507; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.

KIRKBY RAVENSWORTH

ROBINSON, Captain Leonard: Dugdale, p. 91.

LONG COWTON

*ANDERSON, Sir Henry, M.P.: BL, Add. MS 15,858, fol. 215; BL, TT E240(40), *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament* (London, 1642), p. 2; PRO, SP 23/68/308–323; Bell, 1, pp. 25–30; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 148; *House of Lords MSS*, HMC, 5th Report, Appendix (London, 1876), pp. 107–08; *Commons' Journals*, iii, p. 338; Keeler, pp. 86–87; Cliffe, p. 337.

*ANDERSON, Captain Henry: PRO, SP 23/63/311; Bell 1, pp. 25–30; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237.

MARTON

Marton with Moxby township

CLARKE, Captain William, junior: PRO E121/3/3, n. 43.

MELSONBY

WILKINSON, Captain Henry; PRO, E121/4/8, n. 12; PRO, SP 28/129/6, fol. 9; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 46.

MIDDLETON TYAS

Moulton township

SMITHSON, Major George, M.P., J.P.: BL, Add. MS 21,427, fol. 125; PRO, E121/3/3, n. 148; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Dugdale, p. 39; Bell, 11, pp. 66–67, 214; Bean, p. 708; *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, ed. Gooder, 11, p. 69.

NEWTON-UPON-OUSE

Beningbrough Hall

BOURCHIER, Sir John, regicide, M.P., J.P., High Sheriff 1645–46: BL, Add. MS 35, 832, fol.

159; BL, TT E116(9), *The last true Newes from Yorke* (London, 1642); Dr Williams' Library: Morrice MS, *A Chronological Account of eminent persons: letters and notes, 1534-1695*, III; CCCD, p. 1920; Rushworth, pp. 276-80; Bean, pp. 1032-33; Greaves and Zaller, I, pp. 83-84; Cliffe, pp. 293, 303, 350; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAJ*, 43, pp. 150-52; P. Taylor, 'The Restoration Bouchiers of Beningbrough', *YAJ*, 60 (1988), pp. 127-47.

NORMANBY

Thornton-Riseborough

ROBINSON, Luke, M.P., J.P.: *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ed. Cary, I, pp. 66-68; Bean, p. 1065; Dugdale, p. 65; Cliffe, p. 358; J. Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance': *Scarborough in the Civil Wars, 1640-60* (Preston, 1996).

NORTHALLERTON

Brompton

NIXON, Cornet Henry: PRO, SP 24/66.

PICKHILL

Swainby-with-Allerthorpe township: Allerthorpe

HARRISON, Thomas, M.P., J.P., High Sheriff 1656-58: *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 153; Bean, pp. 697-98.

ROKEBY

ROBINSON, Captain Thomas: Dugdale, p. 34; *Ducatus*, p. 260; *Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 163.

SCARBOROUGH

HARRISON, John, bailiff: Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance'.

LAWSON, Captain John: *D.N.B.*; Greaves and Zaller, II, pp. 178-79; J. Binns, 'Sir John Lawson: Scarborough's Admiral of the Red', *NH*, 32 (1996), pp. 90-110; Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance'.
FARTHING, William, Commonwealth soldier: *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 110.

SKELTON

Skelton Castle

TROTTER, George, committeeman: Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229-30; Cliffe, p. 359; *Parliament History*, XII, p. 237.

SIGSTON

Winton township: Stank-Hall

LASCELLES, Colonel Francis, M.P., J.P.: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; *Parliament History*, XII, p. 237; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229-30; *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, ed. Gooder, II, p. 58; Greaves and Zaller, II, pp. 172-73; Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance', pp. 162, 245; Bean, pp. 958-59, 1082; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAJ*, 43, p. 155.

LASCELLES, Lieutenant-Colonel Peregrine (later of Lythe): PRO, E121/2/3, n. 28; PRO, SP 28/266/part ii/90, 97; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *CSPD 1650*, p. 506; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 137.

LASCELLES, Captain Thomas, J.P.: PRO, E121/3/4, n. 101; PRO, SP 23/99/396; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 137; Bean, pp. 958-59.

STOKESLEY

MARSHALL, Lieutenant: *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ed. Cary, I, p. 83; Walker, *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland*, p. 432.

TANFIELD

BECKWITH, Captain Matthew, J.P. (also of Aldborough): *CCCD*, pp. 2957–58; *Ducatus*, p. 131; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 305; Binns, *A Place of Great Importance*, p. 245; Forster, p. 102.

Farmanby

DAWSON, Robert, soldier: *Quarter Sessions Records*, pp. 16, 30.

MARSHALL, Richard, soldier: *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 34.

THORNTON WATLASS

DODSWORTH, Captain John, J.P.: BL, Add. MS 15,858, fol. 215; PRO, SP 19/10/308; SP 19/120/120–28.

FARMAN, John, soldier: *Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 160.

WHITBY

*BUSHELL, Captain Browne: BL, TT E95(2), *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, 28 March–4 April (London, 1643), p. 110; J. Binns, 'Captain Browne Bushell: North Sea Adventurer and Pirate', *NH*, 27 (1991), pp. 90–105.

BUSHELL, Mr William: R. T. Gaskin, *The Old Seaport of Whitby* (Whitby, 1909), p. 198.

*CHOLMLEY, Sir Hugh, bart., M.P., J.P.: *DNB*; BL, TT E95(2), *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* (London, 1643); BL, TT E95(9), *A true and exact Relation of all the proceedings of Sir Hugh Cholmley's Revolt* (London, 1643); *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby 1600–1657*, ed. Jack Binns, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 153 (2000); Keeler, pp. 134–35; Bean, p. 1056; *The Complete Baronetage*, II, p. 128; Binns, *A Place of Great Importance*; J. Binns, 'Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, 1600–1657: His Life and Works' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1992); J. Binns, 'Sir Hugh Cholmley: Whitby's Benefactor or Beneficiary?' *NH*, 30 (1994), pp. 86–104.

*CHOLMLEY, James, esq.: BL, TT E95(2), *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, 28 March–4 April (London, 1643); Binns, 'Captain Browne Bushell'; p. 95.

Bagdale Old Hall, Ruswarp

NEWTON, Captain Isaac, J.P.: *CSPD 1650*, p. 506; *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire with additions*, ed. Clay, III, p. 495; *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 25; Binns, *A Place of Great Importance*, p. 224; Binns, *NH*, 27, p. 102.

Ugglebarnby township

STRANGWAYS, Lieutenant Thomas (later of South-House, Pickering-Lythe): PRO, SP 28/138/3; PRO, E121/1/7, n. 57; Dugdale, p. 86.

4. THE EAST RIDING

ALDBROUGH

West Newton-in-Holderness township

LILLIEWHITE, Charles, trooper: Worcester College Library, Oxford, Clarke MS, 4/2.

West Newton Grange

CHOLMLEY, Sir Henry, M.P., J.P.: *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 108, 151; *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ed. Cary, I, p. 293; Keeler, p. 134; Bean, p. 942.

BARMSTON

BOYNTON, Sir Matthew, bart., M.P., High Sheriff 1643–45: University of Hull, Brynmor Jones Library Archive, Wickham-Boynton MSS, DDWB; Morrice MSS, vol. 3; Bell, I, pp. 25–30; Rushworth, pp. 276–80; *Commons' Journals*, III, pp. 387–89; Cliffe, p. 279; Bean, pp. 827, 1045; *The Complete Baronetage*, I, p. 114; C. V. Collier, *An Account of the Boynton Family and the Family Seat at*



Fig. 2. Parliamentary allegiance in the East Riding and the City of York.

Burton Agnes (Middlesborough, 1914); G. Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness* (London, 1840), 1, p. 198.

BOYNTON, Colonel Francis: PRO, SP 28/138/3; SP 28/7/164; SP 28/7/172; SP 28/7/473; Bell, 1, pp. 25–30; Dugdale, p. 126; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30.

*BOYNTON, Colonel Matthew: PRO, SP 28/138/3; ERYAS, DDCC/150/5; Dugdale, p. 126; Binns, *'A Place of Great Importance'*.

BOYNTON, Major John: PRO, SP 28/265/369; SP 23/188/322; PRO, E121/4/8, n. 5; E121/5/6, n. 15; C. V. Collier, 'Some Further Gleanings From Old Burlington', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, 9 (1901), p. 82.

BRIGGS, Martin, minister: Cliffe, p. 274; Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness*, 1, p. 205.

KIDSON, Robert, parson: Poulson, 1, p. 205.

BEVERLEY

FIRBANCK, George: CCCD, p. 389.

FOTHERBY, Captain Henry: PRO, SP 28/129/6, fol. 3; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 6; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; CSPD 1650, p. 506; Dugdale, p. 65.

LEAKE, Matthew, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

LEGARD, Captain William, alderman: PRO, SP 28/138/3; *Royalist Composition Papers*, ed. G. W. Clay, 11, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 18 (1895), p. 62.

NELTHORPE, James, mayor, M.P.: Bean, p. 740; G. C. F. Forster, 'Beverley in the Seventeenth Century', in *The History of the County of York, East Riding*, ed. K. J. Allison (Oxford, 1989), vi, p. 94; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAJ*, 43, p. 156.

NELTHORPE, Captain John, M.P.: PRO, E121/3/3, n. 93, 113; Forster, 'Beverley in the Seventeenth Century', p. 94; Bean, p. 740.

PEARSON, Nicholas, parish clerk: *A Puritan Parish Clerk: A Commentary on Current Events made in the*

Registers of St. Mary's Church, Beverley, by Nicholas Pearson, Parish Clerk, 1636–53, ed. E. Hope (Beverley, n.d.)

RIDLEY, Mr Christopher: PRO, SP 28/6/473; SP 28/202/129; *The Hull Letters*, pp. 155–56; Cliffe, p. 342.

SMEADLY, Corporal Robert, painter: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/36; *The Hull Letters*, p. 153.

WITTIE, Captain John: PRO, SP 24/5/89; SP 24/86; SP 28/138/3; SP 28/202/129; Dugdale, p. 221.

Beverley Park

*WHARTON, Michael, M.P.: Forster, 'Beverley in the Seventeenth Century', pp. 91–92; Keeler, p. 379.

BISHOP BURTON

LEGARD, William, minister: PRO, SP 23/179/740.

BOYNTON

STRICKLAND, Sir William, bart, M.P., J.P.: *DNB*; Keeler, p. 355; Bean, p. 709; Greaves and Zaller, III, p. 213; *The Complete Baronetage*, II, p. 155.

STRICKLAND, Walter, M.P., J.P.: *DNB*; Bean, p. 709; Greaves and Zaller, III, pp. 212–13.

BURTON AGNES

POCKLEY, Captain John: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 30; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Dugdale, p. 15.

Harpham township

ST QUINTIN, Sir William, bart, J.P., High Sheriff 1648–49: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 17; Dugdale, p. 185; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 39.

CARNABY

Fraisthorpe township

VICKERMAN, Sergeant-Major Henry: PRO, SP 23/188/336; SP 28/7/471; SP 28/138/3; Wickham-Boynton MSS, DDWB/24/5; Dugdale, p. 115.

CHERRY BURTON

MICKLETHWAITE, Thomas, rector: G. Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley* (Beverley, 1829), p. 496.

COTTINGHAM

ALMOND, Thomas: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/13.

COLSTON, Robert: PRO, SP 24/71.

ROOKEBY, Colonel Thomas (also of Burnby): BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fols 151, 333; BL, Add. MS, 24,868, fol. 28; PRO, E121/4/8, n. 37; PRO, SP 28/250/part ii/354; SP 24/71; SP 24/6/55; SP 24/6/57; Morrice MS, vol. 3; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Hatfield, p. 183.

SMYTH, Mr Richard: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/13.

Skidby township

GOODRICKE, Lieutenant-Colonel William, senior (also of Walton Head): PRO, E121/4/8, n. 37; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; C. A. Goodricke, *History of the Goodricke Family* (London, 1885), p. 44; H. Speight, *Kirkby Overblow and District* (London, 1903), p. 90.

GOODRICKE, Major William, junior: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 37; PRO, SP 28/138/3; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; YML, CWT, 43–07–12, *Two Letters, the one Being Intercepted by the Parliament's Forces which was sent from Sir Hugh Cholmley to Captain Gotherick* (London, 1643); *CSPD 1641–1643*, p. 465; Goodricke, *History of the Goodricke Family*, p. 47.

GOODRICKE, Captain Henry: BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fol. 271; Goodricke, *History of the Goodricke Family*, p. 50.

Newland

THOMPSON, Edward: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/13.

EASINGTON

OVERTON, Sergeant-Major John: PRO, E121/5/5, n. 39; E121/5/7, n. 29; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 68; *The Hull Letters*, p. 156.

OVERTON, Major-General Robert: *DNB*; Greaves & Zaller, II, p. 281; B. Taft, ‘“They that pursew perfaction on earth . . .”: The Political Progress of Robert Overton’, in *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution: essays presented to Austin Woolrych* ed. I. Gentles, J. Morrill, B. Worden (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 286–303.

KENNINGTON, Thomas, minister: PRO, SP 23/177/745; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 69.

ELLERTON

BETHELL, Captain Walter: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 29; Dugdale, p. 155.

ETTON

ANLABY, Captain John, M.P., J.P.: PRO, SP 28/138/4; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30; Bean, p. 680; Greaves and Zaller, I, p. 17; Forster, p. 102; Binns, ‘*A Place of Great Importance*’, p. 187; Nuttall ‘Yorkshire Commissioners’, *YAJ*, 43, p. 152.

FERRIBY

Swanland township

SEAMAN, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

FLAMBOROUGH

CONSTABLE, Sir William, bart., M.P., J.P.: *DNB*; Lord Herries, ‘The Constables of Flamborough’, *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, 8 (1900); N. B. Bradley, ‘Sir William Constable’s Regiment, 1642–1655: A study of the Civil War commander and his officers’, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 55 (1977), pp. 215–43; Cliffe, p. 279; Bean, p. 687; Greaves and Zaller, I, p. 165; *The Complete Baronetage*, I, p. 44; Nuttall, ‘Yorkshire Commissioners’, *YAJ*, 43, p. 150.

GANTON

LEGARD, Captain John: BL, TT E95(9), *A true and exact Relation of all the proceedings of Sir Hugh Cholmley’s Revolt* (London, 1643); YML, CWT, 43–01–18, *Newes From Yorke. Being a true relation of the proceedings of Sir Hugh Cholmley* (London, 1643); Dugdale, p. 111; Legard, *The Legards of Anlaby and Ganton*, pp. 83–85.

*LEGARD, Captain Richard: PRO, SP 23/135/394; Dugdale, p. 111.

HEMINGBOROUGH

Brackenholme-with-Woodhall township: Babthorpe

FENWICK, Sergeant-Major Charles, J.P.: PRO, SP 23/203/20; PRO, E121/4/1, n. 30; W. Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1888), p. 319.

HESLERTON

SALTMARSH, John, vicar: BL, Birch MS, 4,460, fol. 50; Hotham MS, DDHO/1/6; Marchant, p. 275; *Royalist Clergy in Yorkshire, 1642–5*, ed. W. Brown, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 61, (1920), p. 155; A. Lawrence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642–51*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History, 59 (1990), p. 170; Greaves and Zaller, III, p. 136; *Commons’ Journals*,

III, p. 206; D. Wootton, 'From Rebellion to Revolution: the crisis of the winter of 1642/3 and the origins of civil war radicalism', *English Historical Review*, 105 (1990), p. 660; Tickell, *History of Hull*, p. 456; A. M. W. Stirling, *The Hothams, Being the Chronicles of the Hothams of Scarborough and South Dalton from their hitherto unpublished family papers* (London, 1918), I, p. 77.

HESSLE

ROWTON, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Anlaby

LEGARD, Colonel Christopher: G. Duckett, 'Civil War Proceedings in Yorkshire', *YAf*, 7 (1882), p. 400; Legard, *The Legards of Anlaby and Ganton*, pp. 27, 45, 84–86.

LEGARD, Captain Robert: PRO, E121/4/7, n. 48; Bell, I, p. 24; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/2, BRS/7/10, *The Hull Letters*, p. 153.

LEGARD, Captain Charles: PRO, E121/4/1, n. 38.

HOLLYM

HOTHAM, Charles, rector: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/67; Marchant, p. 255; *Yorkshire Genealogist*, ed. J. H. Turner (Bingley, 1890), II, p. 170.

HOLME-ON-SPALDING-MOOR

BRADFORD, Captain William: PRO, SP 28/7/19, fols 19–20; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 8; E121/3/3, n. 22; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *The Fairfax Correspondence: Memorials of the reign of Charles I*, ed. G. W. Johnson (London, 1848), I, p. 299.

SOTHERON, Captain Thomas: PRO, SP 28/138/5, fol. 15; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 131.

HORNSEA

ACKLOM, Major Peter: PRO, SP 28/189; PRO, E121/4/8, n. 35; R. L. Greaves, 'Enemies Under His Feet', *Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–1677* (Stanford, 1990), p. 136.

HOWDEN

Saltmarshe township

SALTMARSHE, Mr Philip, J.P.: Dugdale, p. 94; Forster, p. 102.

SALTMARSH, Captain Edward (also of North Kilvington): PRO, SP 23/115/831; *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, ed. J. W. Clay III, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 20 (1896), p. 48; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 211.

HUGGATE-ON-THE-WOLDS

COTTERILL, Lieutenant-Colonel John: PRO, SP 28/253a/part i/14; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Dugdale, p. 84; Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance', p. 239.

LANGTON

NORCLIFFE, Colonel Sir Thomas: BL, TT E121(45), *An Exact Relation of the Several Passages* (London, 1642), p. 14; BL, TT E95(9), *A true and exact Relation of all the proceedings of Sir Hugh Cholmley's Revolt* (London, 1643); BL, TT E86(40), *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, 24–31 January (London, 1643), p. 40; BL, TT E93(19), *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* (London, 1643), p. 91; PRO, SP 28/138/3; SP 28/253a/part i/42; SP 28/299/768; Hotham MS, DDHO/1/64; YAS, MS 735; *Commons' Journals*, III, p. 293; Cliffe, p. 266.

LUND

REMYNGTON, Richard, esq.: PRO, SP 28/189; *CCCD*, p. 2335; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30. REMYNGTON, Captain Sir Thomas: PRO, SP 23/113/582–93; SP 28/138/3; SP 28/189; SP 28/202/129; SP 28/299/753; *CCCD*, p. 2335; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30.

NORTH CAVE

BREARCLIFFE, William, vicar: Marchant, p. 102; Hall, *History of South Cave*, p. 75.
COPPENDALE, Captain: BL, Birch MS, 4,460, fol. 34.

RISE

BETHELL, Colonel Hugh, J.P., High Sheriff 1652–53: PRO, E121/5/7, n. 26; PRO, SP 28/6/473; ERYAS, DDRI/43/8; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, ed. A. Gooder, II, p. 64.

ROWLEY

WHITE, T., minister: BL, Egerton MS, 2647, fols 29, 306, 372; PRO, SP 28/189.

Hunsley

NORTHEND, Captain John: PRO, E121/3/3, n. 117; E121/5/7, n. 109, 116; *The Hull Letters*, p. 158; *Yorkshire Genealogist*, ed. Turner, II, pp. 81–82.

RUDSTON

*ALURED, Lieutenant-Colonel Lancelot: YML, CWT, 43–01–18, *Newes From Yorke. Being a true relation of the proceedings of Sir Hugh Cholmley* (London, 1643); Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance', pp. 60, 63, 65, 86, 95; W. D. Pink, 'Alured of the Charterhouse, Co. York', in *Yorkshire Genealogist*, ed. Turner, I, pp. 2–3.

SCARBOROUGH

BOURDENAND, John, secretary to Sir John Hotham: PRO SP 28/299/754; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/29; *The Hull Letters*, pp. 156–57; *CSPD 1641–1643*, p. 465.

*HOTHAM, Sir John, M.P., J.P., Governor of Hull, High Sheriff 1634–35: *DNB*; PRO, SP 28/138/4; Hotham MS, DDHO/1; *Commons' Journals*, II, p. 617; Bean, pp. 761–62; Keeler, p. 223; Stirling, *The Hothams*, I; P. Saltmarshe, *History and Chartulary of the Hothams of Scarborough, 1100–1700* (York, 1914); B. N. Reckitt, *Charles the First and Hull* (London, 1952); *The Complete Baronetage*, I, p. 183.

*HOTHAM, Lieutenant-General John, M.P.: *DNB*; BL Add. MS, 32,096, fols 248–51; PRO, SP 28/138/3; Hotham MSS, DDHO/1; Hatfield, p. 184; Bean, p. 1059; Keeler, p. 223.

HOTHAM, Captain William: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/67.

HOTHAM, Durand, J.P., lawyer: Hotham MS, DDHO/1/62–64; *Commons' Journals*, III, pp. 153–54; Forster, p. 102.

SCULCOATES

ALURED, Colonel John, M.P., J.P., regicide: PRO, SP 28/1A/18; SP 28/138/4; *The Parish Registers of Sculcoates, 1538–1772*, ed. M. E. Ingram, Yorkshire Parish Register Society (1959), p. 20; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30; Keeler, pp. 85–86; Bean, p. 824; Cliffe, pp. 269, 309; C. R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (London, 1870), p. 101; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAJ*, 43, pp. 150–52; Greaves and Zaller, I, p. 12; Saltmarshe, *History and Chartulary of the Hothams*, p. 142; Pink in *Yorkshire Genealogist*, I, pp. 2–3.

ALURED, Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher: BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fol. 184; PRO, E121/1/6, n. 11; PRO, SP 24/4/2; *The Parish Registers of Sculcoates*, pp. 21, 125; Pink in *Yorkshire Genealogist*, I, pp. 2–3.

ALURED, Colonel Matthew, M.P. (later of Walkington): BL, Add. MS, 25,347; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 6, 16; PRO, SP 28/252/178; *CSPD 1650*, p. 506; Hatfield, p. 183; T. May, *The History of the Parliament of England which began Nov 3 M.DC.XL* (London, 1812), p. 200; Bean, p. 824; Greaves and Zaller, I, p. 13; Pink in *Yorkshire Genealogist*, I, pp. 2–6.

LUDDINGTON, Robert, vicar: J. Gregory, 'Annals of an Old Yorkshire Village', *Bradford Antiquary*, new ser., 2 (1905), p. 474.

SWINE

MICKLETHWAITE, Captain Joseph, J.P.: Dugdale, p. 281; Forster, p. 102.

MICKLETHWAITE, Captain Elias: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 30; Dugdale, p. 281.

Skirlaugh township

BETHEL, Captain John: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 30.

THWING

STAFFORD, Captain Robert: PRO, SP 28/253a/part i/17; *CCCD*, p. 669; Dugdale, p. xiv.

WARTER

STAPLETON, Colonel Sir Philip, M.P., (also of Wighill): *DNB*; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; Bean, p. 769; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 306.

WELTON

NORTON, John, vicar: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/48; Marchant, p. 265.

WINTERINGHAM

Linton-on-the-Wolds

LISTER, John, esq., J.P.: Dugdale, p. 128; *The Hull Letters*, pp. 155–56.

5. THE WEST RIDING

ACASTER

FAIRFAX, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis: PRO, SP 28/253b/part ii/20; Dugdale, p. 230.

ADEL

Arthington

ARTHINGTON, Henry, M.P., J.P.: PRO, SP 23/190/883; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; *Ducatus*, p. 8; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; Bean, p. 964.

ALDBOROUGH

BECKWITH, Captain Arthur: BL, TT E121(45), *An Exact Relation of the Several Passages* (London, 1642), p. 14; *Ducatus*, p. 131; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 305.

Dunsforth

WATTER, Richard, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

WATTER, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

ALLERTON MAULEVERER

MAULEVERER, Sir Thomas, bart, M.P., J.P., regicide: *DNB*; PRO, SP 19/116/25–27; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; *Parliament History*, xii, p. 237; *Ducatus*, p. 191; T. Gent, *The Ancient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Ripon* (London, 1733), p. 118; Keeler, pp. 270–71; *The Complete Baronetage* II, p. 117; Greaves and Zaller, II, p. 228; Cliffe, p. 338; Nuttall, 'Yorkshire Commissioners', *YAJ*, 43 (1971), pp. 155–56.

ALMONDBURY

STANHOPE, Captain Richard: Bell, 1, pp. 66–67; 'A Local Civil War Warrant', ed. W. Robertshaw, *Bradford Antiquary*, new ser., 6 (1940), p. 44; H. Owen, *Stanhope, Atkinson, Haddon and Shaw: Four North Country Families* (Chichester, 1985), pp. 16, 18.

ARKSEY

Bentley

BROUGHTON, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.



Fig. 3. Parliamentary allegiance in the West Riding.

RAWSON, Thomas, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 163.

ARNCLIFFE

Buckden township: Hubbram or Hubberholme

JACQUES, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

BARWICK-IN-ELMET

NICHOLSON, John, trooper: Clark MS, 4/2.

BATLEY

AUDSLEY, Roger, vicar: PRO, SP 23/196/672; *Records of the Parish of Batley in the County of York*, ed. M. Sheard (Worksop, 1894), pp. 144, 161; W. J. Sheils, 'Provincial Preaching on the Eve of the Civil War: Some West Riding Sermons', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. A. J. Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 1994), p. 310.

NAYLER, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Gildersome township

BALM, Isaac: *Hodgson*, p. 93; R. L. Greaves, 'Deliver Us From Evil': *The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 179, 188.

GREATHEAD, Major Joshua: *CSPD 1650*, p. 506; *Records of the Parish of Batley*, pp. 14, 264, 277; 'Papers Relating to the Delinquency of Lord Savile, 1642–1646', ed. J. J. Cartwright, *Camden Miscellany*, viii, Camden Society, 2nd ser., 31 (1883), p. 10; C. R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (London, 1870), p. 105; N. Ward, *There's No Place Like Morley* (Driffeld, 1973), p. 10; Greaves, 'Deliver Us From Evil', pp. 180–89; S. J. Chadwick, 'The Farnley Wood Plot', in *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 15 (1909), p. 126.

Morley township

BIRKHEAD, Edward: PRO, SP 23/135/539.

ELLIS, Trumpeter John: Clarke MS, 4/2; G. Wood, *The Story of Morley* (London, 1916), pp. 127–28; W. Smith, *History of Morley* (London, 1876), p. 138.

ELLIS, Trumpeter Joseph: Clarke MS, 4/2.

ELLIS, Trumpeter Samuel: Clarke MS, 4/2.

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Heckmondwike township

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Tong township

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BOLTON PERCY

Appleton Roebuck township

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Haworth township

HOLMES, Christopher: PRO, SP 24/55.

WHITTAKER, Nicholas: PRO, SP 24/55.

Heaton township: Heaton-Royds

BLACKBURNE, Ambrose, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Manningham township

BRADSHAW, Captain: WYAS, Calderdale, PB/B: 130/1.

LISTER, Captain: WYAS, Calderdale, PB/B: 130/1.

RUSHFORTH, Robert, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Shipley township

BLACKBURNE, George, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Wilsden township

JOWETT, John: Hird, *Bradford in History*, p. 61.

BRAITHWELL

Bramley township: Bramley Grange

MAN, Mr, gentleman lifeguard to Lord Fairfax: PRO, SP 23/195/499–502; *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, ed. G. W. Clay, II, YAS Record Series 18 (1895), pp. 142–43; *The Parish Register of Braithwell, 1559–1774*, ed. P. M. Tillott, YAS, Parish Register Section, (1969), p. 28.

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WENTWORTH, Darcy, esq., J.P.: Dugdale, p. 3; Forster, p. 102.

CALVERLEY

Pudsey township

WALES, Elkanah, curate: BL Birch MS, 4,460, fols 35–39; Marchant, p. 289; B. Dale, *Bradford Antiquary*, new ser., 2 (1905), pp. 366–70.

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CARLTON

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CHURCH FENTON

BIRDSALL, Joseph, yeoman and sequestrator: PRO, SP 19/128/123.

CLAPHAM

CAR, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

DARFIELD

Ardsley township

AWTIE, Anthony, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Billingley township

NAYLER, Robert, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Great Houghton township

RODES, Sir Edward, M.P., J.P., High Sheriff 1650–51: PRO, SP 28/138/3; Rushworth, pp. 276–80; G. Fox, *The Three Sieges of Pontefract Castle, printed from the manuscript compiled and illustrated by George Fox* (Leeds, 1987), p. 4; Hatfield, p. 185; *Ducatus*, p. 91; A. J. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), p. 390.

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Ossett township

FOX, Jonas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

FOX, Rodger, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

DONCASTER

CUTTELL, Stephen, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

EAST ARDSLEY

ANDERTON, William trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

BROOKE, Edward, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

NAYLER, William, senior, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

ECCLESFIELD

Bradfield township

JACKSON, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

STONES, George, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Dungworth

DUNGWORTH, Henry, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

HARTLEY, Robert, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Fulwood Hall

FOX, Major William: *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, ed. J. R. Boyle (Hull, 1882), p. 130 n.

Ecclesfield township: Whitley

SHIRCLIFFE, Thomas: PRO, SP 23/189/553.

EDLINGTON

KENDAL, Samuel, minister: Rushworth, p. 140.

FIRBECK

WEST, William, esq., J.P.: *Lords' Journals*, IV, p. 583; *West Riding Sessions Records: Orders 1611–1642, Indictments 1637–1642*, ed. J. Lister, II, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 53 (1915), p. 13 n.

FISHLAKE

HILL, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Sykehouse township

THORESBY, Captain Joseph: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 37; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Clarke MS, 4/2; D. H. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer; His Town and Times* (Leeds, 1885), I, p. 22.

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Eshton

WATKINSON, Lieutenant George: PRO, E121/5/5, n. 8; E121/4/8, n. 12; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1.

GIGGLESWICK

Stainforth

DAWSON, Lieutenant Christopher: CCCD, p. 1762.

GISBURN

Gisburn township: Lower Hall, Westby

LISTER, Captain Thomas, esq.: BL, TT E242(5) *A Perfect Diurnal of the Passages in Parliament* (London, 1642); BL, TT E128(28), *Speciall Passages, 22–29 November* (London, 1642), p. 135; Hotham MSS, DDHO/1/9; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, pp. 210, 294, 389.

GUISELEY

Esholt township

THOMPSON, Henry, esq.: 'A Local Civil War Warrant', ed. Robertshaw, p. 44; Cliffe, p. 345.

Horsforth township

STANHOPE, Walter, esq., senior: 'A Local Civil War Warrant', ed. Robertshaw, p. 44; *Ducatus*, p. 168; Owen, *Stanhope, Atkinson, Haddon and Shaw*, pp. 17, 19.

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Yeadon township

PRAT, Thomas, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 184.

HALIFAX

Halifax Town and Parish

BANNISTER, Joseph, locksmith: *Depositions from the Castle of York Relating to Offences Committed in the Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 40 (1861), p. 11; Bennett, 'Enforcing the Law in Revolutionary England', p. 111.

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Barkisland township

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Elland township

BENTLEY, Jeremy, M.P., collector-general: PRO, SP 28/249; *CSPD Addenda, 1625–1649*, pp. 643, 658; Bennett, 'Enforcing the Law in Revolutionary England', p. 111; 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 39.

Heptonstall township

BURTON, Leonard, curate: Marchant, p. 237.

Hipperholme township

BROADLEY, Samuel: A. J. Pctford, 'Matthew Broadley's Benefactions of 1648', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, new ser., 6 (1998), p. 30.

Coley

HODGSON, Captain John: *DNB*; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 41; E121/4/1, n. 30; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *Hodgson*; Greaves and Zaller, II, p. 98; R. L. Greaves, *'Deliver Us From Evil': The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 31, 199.

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Hipperholme-with-Brighouse township

HASLEDEN, Michael: PRO, SP 24/2/268; SP 24/52.

TAYLOR, Captain Thomas: PRO, E121/4/8, n. 30; Priestley, p. 26; 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 32; R. S. Mitchell, *Brighouse: Portrait of a Town* (Brighouse, 1953), p. 27.

Illingworth township

CLARKSON, Richard, curate (also preaching at Bingley in 1642): Marchant, p. 239; W. J. Sheils in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. A. J. Fletcher and P. Roberts, p. 299.

Midgley township

WADSWORTH, Henry, sequestrator: PRO, SP 28/249.

Ewood Hall

FARRER, Lieutenant Henry: PRO, E121/3/4, n. 41.

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Luddenden

WELSH, Nathaniel, curate: Marchant, p. 237.

Northowram township

BAIRSTOWE, Edward, soldier: 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 16.

CROWTHER, Jonas, soldier: 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 16.

HOULDSWORTH, Jeremy, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 160; 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 16.

LUMME, John, sequestrator: PRO, SP 28/249; 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 39; Hanson, 'Halifax Parish Church, part I', p. 53; Bennett, 'Enforcing the Law in Revolutionary England', p. 111.

Ovenden township

BAIRSTOWE, John, sequestrator: PRO, SP 28/249; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 309.

HOYLE, Captain Edmond, clothier: PRO, SP 28/266/part II/49; SP 28/266/part III/113, 117–18; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, pp. 170–71.

Ovenden Hall

FOURNESS, Joseph, clothier: Hanson, 'Halifax Parish Church, part I', pp. 53, 57.

Rastrick township

WILSON, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Shelf township

AMBLER, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

WHITELEY, Lieutenant Joseph: 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 139; *Priestley*, p. 23; possibly the man in *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 80.

Southowram township: Shibden

LILLY, Isaac: 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 20.

Stansfield township

Underbank

HORSFALL, Lieutenant: Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 89; YML, CWT, 43-01-24, *A True Relation of the Passages at Leeds, on Munday the 23 of January, 1642* (London, 1643), p. 6; 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 20; H. P. Kendall, 'Local Incidents in the Civil War, part i', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1909), pp. 18-19.

Cross-Stone

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Sowerby township

BRIGGS, Captain Joseph, clothier: PRO, SP 19/115/94; PRO, SP 24/36; *Priestley*, p. 18; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, pp. 31, 227; probably the Captain Briggs in Kendall, 'Local Incidents in the Civil War, part i', pp. 18-20.

CRABTREE, John, soldier: 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 16.

RATHBAND, Nathaniel, curate: Marchant, p. 239.

The Pond, Triangle

STANSFIELD, Captain Joshua: 'Our Local Portfolio', p. 19; Kendall, 'Local Incidents in the Civil War, part i', p. 28.

Sowerby Bridge township

BOOTH, Robert, curate: Marchant, pp. 31-32, 39 n., 231; *Priestley*, p. 17.

Soyland township: Goodgreave

PRIESTLEY, Joseph: *Priestley*, p. 18.

PRIESTLEY, Samuel, soldier (rank unknown): *Priestley*, pp. 26-27.

HATFIELD

HATFIELD, Captain John: PRO, E121/3/1, n. 57; E121/4/8, n. 30; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Dugdale, p. 270; Hatfield, pp. 183, 206.

HEMSWORTH

COLLIN, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

HUDDERSFIELD

HILL, Edward, minister: PRO, SP 23/177/436; PRO, E134/1653/Mich 11; *Ducatus*, p. 209.

Scammonden township

SMALLWOOD, Thomas, curate: BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fol. 44; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ed. Cary, I, pp. 66-68; *Ducatus*, appendix, pp. 147-48; Lawrence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 46, 174; Greaves and Zaller, III, pp. 182-83; R. L. Greaves, *'Deliver Us From Evil': The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 30-31.

ILKLEY

Holling-hall township

HEBER, Mr John: Dugdale, p. 54.

KELLINGTON

WINGATE, Captain Edward, J.P.: PRO, SP 23/172/519; PRO, E121/1/6, n. 20 and E134/1653/East 1; Forster, p. 102.

KILDWICK

CURRER, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry: PRO, SP 23/195/311; SP 23/197/839; PRO, E121/4/8, n. 21; *CSPD 1650*, p. 506; Dugdale, p. 252.

KIRKBY MALHAMDALE

Calton township

LAMBERT, General John, J.P.: *DNB*; BL Sloane MS, 1519, fols 14–15; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Greaves and Zaller, II, pp. 167–70; W. H. Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy: The Life and Times of General John Lambert* (London, 1938); P. T. Gwilliam, 'The Political Career of General John Lambert, 1657–60' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1988); Bean, p. 700.

KIRKBURTON

CLARK, Daniel, vicar: Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches of the West Riding', p. 436.

Holmfirth township

BRAY, Philip, clothier: PRO, SP 24/36.

KIRKBY MALZEARD

Fountains Earth township: Bouthwaite

INMAN, Mr Robert (nicknamed 'Bold Robin of Bouthwaite'): *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 339; H. Speight, *Nidderdale and the Garden of the Nidd* (London, 1894), pp. 448–49, 477–78; Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 383; H. Speight, *Nidderdale from Nun-Monkton to Whernside* (London, 1906), p. xiv. INMAN, Lieutenant Owen: Speight, *Nidderdale from Nun-Monkton to Whernside*, pp. xii–xiv. INMAN, Robert, soldier: *Nidderdale from Nun-Monkton to Whernside*, pp. xii–xiv.

KIRKBY OVERBLOW

BETHEL, William, rector: Dugdale, p. 155; H. Speight, *Kirkby Overblow and District* (London, 1903), p. 56.

KIRK HAMMERTON

Wilstrop

GRAY, Oswald, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

KIRKHEATON

HILL, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.
STAFFORD, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

KNARESBOROUGH

ATEY, Roger, minister: Rushworth, p. 140.
NORFOLK, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Bilton-with-Harrogate township

WAID, Captain Thomas: PRO, SP 23/172/203.

Bilton-Park

STOCKDALE, Thomas, M.P., J.P., secretary to Ferdinando, 2nd Baron Fairfax: Hull City Archives, BRS/7/74; *Portland MSS*, HMC, 29, 13th Report, Appendix 1, i, pp. 84, 717; Reckitt, *Charles the First and Hull*, appendix ii: Sir John Hotham's defence, p. 121; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; *The Fairfax Correspondence: Memorials of the reign of Charles I*, ed. G. W. Johnson (London, 1848), II, passim; Saltmarshe, *History and Chartulary of the Hothams*, p. 142; Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, pp. 32, 200, 207–08; *Parliament History* XII, p. 237; Bean, p. 886; *A History of Harrogate and Knaresborough*, ed. B. Jennings (Huddersfield, 1970), pp. 135–55.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN

Letwell township

MAULEVERER, Colonel John, J.P.: PRO, SP 28/138/5, fol. 15; SP 28/189; SP 28/300/636; PRO, E121/2/1, n. 11; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 118 n.

Langold

KNIGHT, Major Ralph: PRO, E121/5/5, n. 7; Dugdale, p. 272.

LEATHLEY

*BRANDLING, Colonel Robert: Dugdale, p. 26; P. R. Newman, *The Old Service: Royalist Regimental Colonels and the Civil War, 1642–6* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 55–56.

LEEDS

Leeds Parish

ASKWITH, Captain John: PRO, SP 19/5/70–71; SP 28/265/57–65; SP 28/252/177; PRO, E134/1658/East 25; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 178; Hanson, 'Three Civil War Notes', pp. 250–51.

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ILES, Martin, sequestrator: BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fol. 46; PRO, SP 23/187/757.

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LAIDMAN, Cornet Henry (also of Kirkstall): BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fol. 7; BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fols 190, 203, 211; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, pp. 10, 101, 137.

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SYKES, Richard, merchant (also of Hull): BL, Add. MS, 27,411, fol. 78; PRO, SP 23/135/241; M. W. Beresford, 'Leeds in 1628: "A Riding Observation" from the City of London', *NH*, 10 (1975), p. 140; Barbara English, *Great Landowners of East Yorkshire, 1530–1910* (Hemel Hempstead, 1990), p. 46.

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WIGGINS, trooper: BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fol. 60.

Leeds Town

Briggate

HAMAN, Thomas: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 162.

SAUNDERS, Captain: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 191.

Headrow

PEASE, Robert, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 158.

Kirkgate

ATKINSON, William, gunsmith: Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby*, 1, p. 165.

THORESBY, John, sequestrator: PRO, SP 23/135/539; Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 60; G. D. Lumb, 'John Thoresby', in Publications of the Thoresby Society, 22 (1915), p. 55.

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THORESBY, Ensign Ralph: *Ducatus*, p. viii; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 162.

New Church (St John's)

TODD, Robert, curate: PRO, SP 23/179/213; Rushworth, p. 140; W. Allott, 'Leeds Quaker Meeting', in Publications of the Thoresby Society, 50 (1968), p. 4; B. Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches of the West Riding During the Puritan Revolution', *Bradford Antiquary*, new ser., 1 (1900), p. 434; Cross, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers*, p. 22.

Vicar Lane

BONEFANG, Christopher: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 216.

Great Woodhouse

HORNE, Thomas, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 177.

Beeston township

ATKINSON, Ralph, servant to John Askwith: PRO, SP 23/135/539; PRO, E134/1658/East 25. GILL, Colonel George: BL, Add. MS, 18,979, fol. 149; PRO, SP 23/87/746; SP 23/135/539; SP 28/253a/part i/70; PRO, E 134/1658/East 25; PRO, E134/Chas2/Mich43; *CSPD 1650*, p. 506; Commons' Journals, vi, p. 450; Bell, 1, pp. 81-82; Hatfield, p. 184.

Bramley township

ASKWITH, Captain Simon: PRO, SP 28/265/62; SP 28/267/part i/4-21; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 214; Turner, *Nonconformity in Idle*, p. 14.

Farnley township

DANBROUGH, Wilfrid: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 200.

ETHRINGTON, William trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Holbeck township

DEWSBURY, William, soldier: *DNB*; E. Smith, *The Life of William Dewsbury* (London, 1836); J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York, 1603-42' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955), p. 30.

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NALSON, John, curate: Rushworth, p. 140; *Ducatus*, p. 37; *Urban Magistrates and Ministers*, p. 22.

Hunslet township

HAWKSWORTH, Thomas, curate: Marchant, p. 253; Rushworth, p. 140; Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches of the West Riding', p. 438; Cross, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers*, p. 22.

Knowsthorpe township

BAYNES, Captain Adam, M.P., J.P., attorney: *DNB*; BL, Add. MS, 21,417-21,427; PRO,

E121/1/1, n. 19; E121/1/7, n. 281; E121/2/1, n. 11; E121/3/1, n. 57; E121/4/1, n. 30; E121/4/8, n. 30; E121/5/5, n. 18, 28, 29; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *Ducatus*, p. 101; Greaves and Zaller, 1, pp. 50–51; Bean, pp. 920–21; G. Isham, 'Adam Baynes of Leeds and Holdenby', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 2 (1956), pp. 138–46.

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BAYNES, Robert, trooper: BL, Add. MS, 21,417–21,427; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 28.

BURLEY, Robert, trooper: BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fols 58, 114; BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fol. 9.

COWPER, Lieutenant: BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fol. 354; BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fols 9, 159; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 391.

FEASAND, William, trooper: BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fols 58, 114; BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fol. 9.

LEAVENS, Lieutenant John: BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fol. 186; PRO, E121/4/8, n. 30; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 386.

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STABLE, Quartermaster Seth: BL, Add. MS, 21,417; fol. 3; BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fol. 9; PRO, E121/5/5, n. 28.

MALTBY

Ewe

SAUNDERSON, Lieutenant Nicholas: BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fol. 208; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, pp. 162, 216.

METHLEY

CLARKSON, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

SAVILE, John, esq., J.P., High Sheriff 1647–48: Forster, p. 102; *The History of Methley*, ed. G. D. Lumb and H. S. Darbyshire, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 35 (1937), p. 8.

MITTON

Bashall

WHITE, Colonel William, esq., M.P., J.P., London agent to Ferdinando, 2nd Baron Fairfax: PRO, SP 28/264/161; Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; *Parliament History*, XII, p. 237; Bean, p. 964; Forster, p. 102; I. J. Gentles and W. J. Sheils, *Confiscation and Restoration: The Archbishopric Estates and the Civil War*, University of York, Borthwick Paper, 59 (1981), p. 42.

MONK FRYSTON

FLETCHER, Charles, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 164.

NEWTON KYME

BARWICK, Sir Robert of Towlston, J.P.: PRO, SP 19/121/20b; Forster, p. 102.

FAIRFAX, Henry, rector: Bell, 1, p. 321.

NORMANTON

Altofts

NAYLER, William, junior, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

NUN MONKTON

KETTLEWELL, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

MARWOOD, George, esq., J.P., High Sheriff 1651–52: BL, TT E129(26), *Two Declarations of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, 10 December* (London, 1642); Firth and Rait, 1, pp. 229–30; *Parliament History*, XII, p. 237; A. J. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), p. 328.

OTLEY

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Burley-in-Wharfedale

COOPER, John, curate: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 185; Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches and Chapels round about Bradford', p. 380; Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 68; W. J. Sheils, 'Provincial Preaching on the Eve of the Civil War: Some West Riding Sermons', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. A. J. Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 1994), p. 305.

MAUDE, Mr John: Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, pp. 146–47.

Burley Woodhead

WALKER, Samuel, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 161.

Denton

CHAPMAN, Thomas, curate: Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches of the West Riding', p. 438.
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Menston

FAIRFAX, Colonel Charles, esq., J.P.: Bell, I, pp. 241–43, 303–04, 310–11; *Ducatus*, appendix, p. 146.

Hawksworth

HAWKSWORTH, Sir Richard, J.P.: West Riding Sessions Records, II, p. 64; Dugdale, pp. 244, 263; *The Fairfax Correspondence: Memorials of the reign Charles I*, ed. G. W. Johnson (London, 1848), I, p. 363.

Bramhope township

DYNELEY, Captain Robert: Hatfield, p. 183; *Ducatus*, p. 35; Cliffe, p. 340.

PENISTONE

Gunthwaite township

BOSVILE, Colonel Godfrey, esq., M.P., (also of Wroxall Warwickshire): Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30; *Parliament History*, XII, p. 237; Cliffe, p. 270; Keeler, pp. 111–12.

BOSVILE, Captain William: PRO, SP 19/130/20; *CCCD*, p. 931; Eyre, 'A Dyurnall or Catalogue of all my Accions', p. 25 n; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 361.

Penistone township: New Chapel

COOKE, Captain William: PRO, SP 28/253a/part i/19; *CCAM*, p. 647; *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 214.

Thurlstone township

Haslehead

EYRE, Captain Adam: BL, Add. MS, 21,427, fol. 177; BL, Add. MS, 25,463, fols 95–111; Eyre, 'A Dyurnall or Catalogue of all my Accions', pp. 352–53; *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, ed. J. R. Boyle (Hull, 1882), p. 87; Dransfield, *History of Penistone*, p. 65; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 200.

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Bull House

RICH, Captain William: WYAS, Wakefield, QS 10/2/109; *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, p. 87; *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills*, ed. Clay, p. 162; D. Hey, 'The Riches of Bullhouse: A Family of Yorkshire Dissenters', NH, 31 (1995); Dransfield, *History of Penistone*, pp. 50, 65.

PONTEFRACT

COWPER, John: R. Carroll, 'Yorkshire Parliamentary Boroughs in the Seventeenth Century', NH, 3 (1968), p. 94.

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STYLES, William (vicar until 1642, then of Hessle-cum-Hull): *The Hull Letters*, p. 152; Gent, *Gent's History of Hull*, p. 151; Marchant, p. 282.

WARD, Lieutenant Leonard, alderman: PRO, E121/4/1, n. 30; Carroll, 'Yorkshire Parliamentary Boroughs in the Seventeenth Century', p. 94.

Tanshelf Court

WARD, Captain John: CSPD 1650, p. 506; Carroll, 'Yorkshire Parliamentary Boroughs in the Seventeenth Century', p. 94.

RAVENFIELD

WESTBY, Mr Thomas, J.P.: Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229–30; Parliament History, XII, p. 237; Cliffe, pp. 269, 383; Forster, p. 102.

RAWMARSH

WOOD, Thomas, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

RIPON

Dacre-with-Bewerley township

BECKWITH, Captain Anthony: PRO, SP 24/2/349; Speight, *Nidderdale from Nun-Monkton to Whernside*, p. xv.

High and Low Bishopside township: Pateley

GILL, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

ROTHERHAM

COPLEY, Commissary Lionel: *West Riding Sessions Records*, ed. Lister, II, p. 39; *Depositions from the Castle of York*, ed. Raine, p. 125; D. Underdown, 'A Freeborn People': *Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), p. 112.

LAMBERT, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

NELSON, Norman: PRO, SP 24/66.

SHAW, John, vicar: *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*; J. Shaw, 'The Life of Master John Shaw', in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. C. Jackson, Surtees Society, 65 (1877); Greaves and Zaller, III, pp. 163–64.

WESTBY, Captain Henry: BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fol. 313; BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fol. 199; Shaw, 'The Life of Master John Shaw', pp. 136–37.

Greasborough township: Carhouse

GILL, Captain Edward: *Memoirs of Master John Shaw*, ed. Boyle, p. 130; *Ducatus*, p. 75; *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, ed. Gooder, II, p. 57.

ROTHWELL

HARGRAVES, John, soldier: WYAS, Wakefield, QS 10/2/225.

ROYSTON

WILSON, George, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

SANDAL MAGNA

Criggleston township: Blacker Hall

BLACKER, Captain-Lieutenant Ferdinand: J. W. Walker, 'Sandal Castle', *YAJ*, 12 (1895), p. 184; J. W. Walker, *Wakefield. Its History and People* (3rd edn, Wakefield, 1966), II, p. 439.

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BLACKER, Centinel Valentine: PRO, E121/2/5, n. 35; PRO, E123/13 and 14 Chas I/Hil II.

SELBY

POTHAN, William, wagonmaster: PRO, SP 19/128/123; West Riding Sessions Records, II, p. 236.

SHEFFIELD

BULLOES, George, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

HARRISON, George, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

TOLLER, Thomas, curate: Marchant, p. 243.

TRIPPETT, Robert, soldier: PRO, SP 24/81.

Attercliffe-with-Darnall township

Carbrook

BRIGHT, Colonel John, M.P., J.P., High Sheriff 1654-55 (also of Badsworth): *DNB*; PRO E121/3/1, n. 57; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Bell, I, p. 83; Firth and Rait, I, pp. 229-30; Hatfield, p. 183; *Ducatus*, p. 75; *Parliament History*, XII, p. 237; P. Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets, 1640-1760: Families, Estates and Fortunes* (Oxford, 1980); W. Odom, *Memorials of Sheffield: Its Cathedral and Parish Churches* (Sheffield, 1922), p. 186; Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 101; Bean, p. 682.

Attercliffe

BAGSHAW, William, curate: Cliffe, p. 271.

LEIGHTON, Richard, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

SPENSER, Colonel William, esq., J.P.: WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, pp. 139, 216; Shaw, 'The Life of Master John Shaw', pp. 136-37; *Memoirs of Master John Shaw*, pp. 28, 130; Hatfield, p. 183; Odom, *Memorials of Sheffield*, p. 102.

SPENSER, Captain John: PRO, E121/4/1; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; Dugdale, p. 12.

TURNER, William, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

SHERBURN

HEWES, Robert, yeoman: PRO, SP 19/128/113-123; WYAS, Wakefield, QS 10/2/89.

SILKSTON

SPOFFORD, John, vicar: Lawrence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 46, 175.

SNAITH

NOBLE, J., minister: Lawrence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 46, 156.

Hook township

BIRKBY, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Rawcliffe township

BOYNTON, Major John: Dugdale, p. 127.

SOUTH KIRKBY

North Elmsall township

*MORRIS, Colonel John: PRO, SP 23/101/671; Dugdale, p. 267.

SPOFFORTH

Braham Hall (also spelt Brayne, Braim)

CHOLMLEY, Colonel John: PRO, SP 23/172/314; SP 23/244/307; SP 24/5/38; SP 28/253a/part ii/19; SP 28/266/part iii/117-18; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, p. 25.

TADCASTER

BURTON, Francis (farrier to Sir William Fairfax's troop): PRO, SP 19/128/123.

SIDDALL, Captain William (later of York): BL, Add. MS, 21,417, fols 33, 281; BL, Add. MS, 21,418, fols 101, 286; PRO, E121/5/7, n. 79; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1.

WATSON, John, soldier: WYAS, Wakefield, QS1/8/1.

Stutton with Hazelwood township: Hazelwood

REYNER, Arthur, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

THORNHILL

WITTON, Joshua, vicar (chaplain to Ferdinando, 2nd Baron Fairfax): Dugdale, p. 250; YML CWT, 44-07-18, *A Sermon Preached at Kingston-upon-Hull upon the Day of Thankes-Giving after the Battell, and that marvailous Victory at Hessam Moore neare Yorke. By J. W. B. D.* (London, 1644).

THORNTON-IN-CRAVEN

LISTER, Sir William, J.P.: PRO, SP 23/1/112; Dugdale, p. 178; W. H. Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy: The Life and Times of General John Lambert* (London, 1938), p. 17.

LISTER, Captain Christopher: Dugdale, p. 178.

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WADWORTH

BEX, George, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

COPLEY, Colonel Christopher, esq., J.P.: PRO, SP 23/115/1000-1005; Hull City Archives, BRS/7/19; Clarke MS, 4/2; Bell, I, pp. 81-82; T. Fairfax, 'A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions during ye warre there, 1642 till 1644', in *Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. F. Grose and T. Astle, 3 (1808), p. 19; Rushworth, p. 302; Hatfield, pp. 183-84, 194; Cliffe, pp. 107, 277; D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford, 1985), p. 190.

WAKEFIELD

BAINES, Robert, soldier: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 163.

HOOLE, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

SHITTLEWORTH, Josiah, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

WIGHTMAN, Thomas: *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 181.

Stanley

ROPER, Lieutenant: BL, Add. MS, 4,276, fol. 132; Allott, 'Leeds Quaker Meeting', p. 4.

Alverthorpe township: Lupset-Hall

SAVILE, Sir John, J.P., High Sheriff 1649-50: Bell, I, pp. 177-82; Dugdale, p. 256; *Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke*, ed. Tibbut, p. 235; *Commons' Journals*, III, p. 245.

Horbury township

ISSATT, Henry, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

WHISTON

Whiston township: Giltwaite

WESTBY, Captain George: Dugdale, pp. 174, 278; Shaw, 'The Life of Master John Shaw', pp. 136–37; *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, ed. Boyle, pp. 28, 130.

Morthen

MITCHELL, Captain William, esq.: PRO, E121/5/7, n. 79.

WISTOW

HEWLEY, Captain John, J.P. (later of York): PRO, SP 28/253a/part i/42; Dugdale, p. 161; Forster, p. 102.

WOODKIRK

West Ardsley township

HEADCOAT, Mr, minister: Rushworth, p. 140.

NAYLER, Quartermaster James: *DNB*; PRO, E121/5/6; PRO, SP 28/250/part ii/205–211; Clarke MS, 4/2; WYAS, Wakefield, C469/1; YML, CWT 43–01–24, *A True Relation of the passages at Leeds, on Munday the 23 of January, 1642* (London, 1643), p. 6; *West Riding Sessions Records*, II, pp. 78, 104, 145, 169, 170, 253; J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York, 1603–42' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955), p. 32; Kendall, 'Local Incidents in the Civil War, part i', p. 19; B. Dale, 'James Nayler, the Mad Quaker', *Bradford Antiquary*, new ser., 2 (1905); Ward, *There's No Place Like Morley*, p. 8; W. G. Bittle, *James Nayler 1618–1660: The Quaker Indicted by Parliament* (York, 1986); D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford, 1985), p. 190.

REYNER, Richard: PRO, SP 24/71.

WALKER, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

Topcliffe

CAUSTEN, John, trooper: Clarke MS, 4/2.

APPENDIX: THE RECRUITMENT OF COLONEL CHRISTOPHER COPLEY'S TROOP OF HORSE, 1643–46

The parliamentary army accounts and papers among the Clarke manuscripts at Worcester College, Oxford, provide a wealth of detail concerning Parliament's military organisation. This source has made it possible to produce for the first time an analysis of the recruitment of one of Lord Fairfax's troops of horse. It provides the places of origin of ninety-two under-officers and troopers of Colonel Christopher Copley's parliamentary troop of horse recruited between 1643 and 1646 (Worcester College, Clarke MS 4/2).

Recruitment

West Riding: 61
East Riding: 4
North Riding: 0
Essex: 1
Lancashire: 1
Leicestershire: 2
Lincolnshire: 6

London: 2
Middlesex: 1
Northamptonshire: 1
Wiltshire: 1
Scotland: 1
Ireland: 2
Unknown: 9
Total: 92

Kinship patterns

Twenty-five out of ninety-two share surnames with comrades in the troop:

Nayler: 5	Dungworth: 2
Fox: 3	Harrison: 2
Ellis: 3	Hill: 2
Birkbeck: 2	Leighton: 2
Blackburne: 2	Watter: 2

Earliest known recruitment

Seven troopers from the Sheffield area all date their service back to 22 February 1643.

The residences of Copley’s sixty-one West Riding recruits are shown in Table 2. The parish is given in the first column, and the townships within that parish in the second column. The map (Fig. 4) illustrates how most of Copley’s West Riding recruits were drawn from the clothing districts in the centre of the Riding and not from the locality of Copley’s residence and estates at Wadworth, which were well to the south-east.

TABLE 2: THE RECRUITMENT OF COPLEY’S TROOP

Parish	Townships	Parish total
Aldbrough	Dunsforth: 2	2
Arksey	Bentley: 1	1
Arncliffe	Buckden: 1	1
Barwick in Elmet: 1		1
Batley: 1	Morley: 4	5
Birstall: 1	Adwalton: 1, Liversedge: 2	4
Bradford	Heaton Royds: 1, Manningham: 1, Shipley: 1	3
Clapham: 1		1
Darfield	Ardsey: 1, Billingley: 1	2
Dewsbury	Ossett: 2	2
Doncaster: 1		1
East Ardsley: 3		3
Ecclesfield	Bradfield: 4	4
Fishlake: 1		1
Halifax	Rastrick: 1, Shelf: 1	2
Hemsworth: 1		1
Kirk Hammerton	Wilstrop: 1	1
Kirkheaton: 2		2
Knaresborough: 1		1
Leeds: 3	Farnley: 1	4
Methley: 1		1
Normanton	Altofts: 1	1
Nun Monkton: 1		1
Rawmarsh: 1		1
Ripon	Pateley: 1	1
Rotherham: 1		1
Royston: 1		1
Snaith	Hooke: 1	1
Sheffield: 2	Attercliffe: 2	4
Tadcaster	Hazelwood: 1	1
Wadworth: 1		1
Wakefield: 2	Horbury: 1	3
Woodkirk: 1	Topcliffe: 1	2



Fig. 4. The recruitment of Christopher Copley's troop of horse.

INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEER FORCES IN YORKSHIRE DURING THE FORTY-FIVE

By Jonathan Oates

If the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 was the most dangerous threat to the Hanoverian dynasty, as some historians have contended, then it can be fairly said that it was in Yorkshire that local resistance to the rebellion was at its strongest. This was headed by the Archbishop of York, Thomas Herring, and the county lieutenancy of the three Ridings. It first manifested itself in public by a great meeting at York on 24 September, when Herring made a patriotic speech to hundreds of the county notables, both Whig and Tory, which was followed by the formation of a County Association, which raised enough money to pay for over 2000 volunteer infantrymen under the command of the Lieutenancy. The Corporation of York also raised funds and formed volunteer forces too, though, unlike the more mobile county forces, theirs was a more static role, not venturing much beyond the city walls. Neither force took part in any fighting, but they were able to perform routine security and ceremonial tasks, displaying political support for the government, boosting the morale of the government's supporters and discouraging any native rebels. Although these have already been discussed by both Collyer and Bagnall, there has been little discussion of the other volunteer formations raised at that time outside the aegis of the county lieutenancy.¹ The exception to this is Prevost's study of the Yorkshire Hunters and in particular George Clerk's involvement with it. This does, however, appear to contain a few errors, which will be commented upon in this article.²

There was a variety of small forces formed by private gentlemen — one at York, several smaller ones at Leeds and, perhaps best known of all, the Yorkshire Royal Hunters, plus a number of other armed associations which were independent of the county forces. The chief difficulty of an article on this subject is that none of these small and temporary organisations seem to have kept records which still exist, unlike those of the county and corporate authorities, so contemporary newspapers and private correspondence have to be heavily relied upon. Unfortunately, no newspapers for Leeds survive for the period of the rebellion, so the evidence we have for units formed there is even more sketchy. This difficulty aside, this article aims to explore their formation and role, unit by unit.

The Royal Hunters were formed under the guidance of Major General James Oglethorpe at the end of September, at York. On the day of Herring's speech, 24 September, there were several gentlemen who wished to serve the King, though, unlike the Association volunteers, this was to be at their own expense. More, they were to serve on horseback. Oglethorpe thought they hoped to number 300, including servants. He desired that the Duke of Newcastle intercede with the King to allow them to call themselves the Royal Hunters. He was convinced that this body would perform well.³ Newcastle agreed with him. 'They shall be distinguished by the name they desire, of His

¹ C. Collyer, 'Yorkshire and the '45', *YAJ*, 38 (1952–55); D. B. Bagnall, 'York and Yorkshire's military reaction to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of York, 1998).

² W. A. J. Prevost, 'Mr George Clerk and the Royal Hunters in 1745', *Cumberland and Westmorland Architectural and Archaeological Society Transactions*, 63 (1963).

³ Public Record Office, State Papers, SP36/69 fol. 8^v.

Majesty's Regiment of Hunters . . . you should be declared Colonel of the Regiment'.⁴ Prevost believes that the force was 'probably' formed after the meeting of the Yorkshire gentry at Sir John Ramsden's seat, Byram, on 11 September, but there is no evidence of this, and the first mention of such a force was, as mentioned above, on 24 September. Certainly, the correspondence of Herring, Viscount Irwin and the Earl of Malton (Lords Lieutenant of the East and West Ridings respectively) does not mention them. There does seem to have been an intention for the county to raise dragoons, but those were to be controlled by the county authorities.⁵

Posters dated 26 September advertised that the volunteers would muster four days later, and said that members would serve at their own expense, probably so that the unit would be socially exclusive.⁶ They mustered on the open ground outside the city of York, the Knavesmire, on 30 September and made a good impression. The members of this body, as planned, were 'Several Gentlemen of considerable Fortune', and their servants. The letter published in the London press gave a good description of them:

The Gentlemen who composed the first Rank, were all dress'd in Blue, trimm'd with Scarlet, and Gold Buttons, Gold Lac'd Hats, light Boots and saddles, etc, their Arms were short Bullet Guns slung, Pistols of a moderate size and strong plain swords. The second and third ranks which were made up of their servants, were dress'd in Blue, with Brass buttons, their Accoutrements all light and serviceable, with short Guns and pistols, and each with a Pole-Axe in his hand.

They wore green cockades in their hats and one carried a green silk banner, embroidered with gold.⁷ According to the Jacobite O'Sullivan's narrative, the Yorkshire Hunters were 'cload in green with leathern caps', but this probably refers to the Georgian Rangers, another irregular cavalry force which was led by Oglethorpe and was ordered against the rebels.⁸ The number of the Yorkshire Hunters is difficult to be precise about, though Stephen Thompson of London thought that there were between twenty and thirty, and Herring between thirty and forty. If each brought two servants, this would make the total about ninety. This would correspond with the estimate of Mr (John?) Graves, merchant of York, that the total number was about a hundred. Oglethorpe's initial estimate of 300 was, therefore, somewhat premature.⁹

After the meeting of 30 September, another poster was designed to attract more recruits. It was written on 1 October and stated the unit's resolutions. These were to announce that there would be a further meeting at the Knavesmire, at one o'clock, on 3 October. However, men could report directly to Oglethorpe, who was staying at the Whig George Thompson's house at York. When the rebels advanced into England, the force was to meet as one body, or if any British troops were to march northwards as far as York, the Hunters were likewise to rendezvous. In the meantime, they resolved to prepare themselves by accustoming their and their servants' horses to stand fire.¹⁰

We do not know exactly who served, though they would probably have been younger sons of the county gentry, all rich young men. One such young man was William Fawcett, nephew of the Revd John Lister, who later became a general in the British Army.¹¹

⁴. *Ibid.*, fol. 166^v.

⁵. Prevost, p. 232; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, GA/Z8, Plan for the defence of Yorkshire, 1745.

⁶. PRO, SP36/69, fol. 172^r.

⁷. *The London Evening Post*, 2795, 3–5 October 1745; *The Derby Mercury*, xiv, 33, 1–8 November 1745.

⁸. A. and H. Tayler, *1745 and After* (London, 1938), p. 104; *The Caledonian Mercury*, 3931, 23 December 1745.

⁹. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Lady du Cane*, 1905, p. 77, British Library, Additional MS 35598, fol. 70^r; WYAS, Leeds, NH 2875/7.

¹⁰. Scottish Record Office, GD18/4182.

¹¹. WYAS, Halifax, SH7/HL/36; J. Lister, 'Life and letters of General Sir William Fawcett', *Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions*, 7 (1910).

Others who made up the ranks were described by Stephen Thompson as 'The bucks such as Zach: Moore; Hall; G. Thompson; Boynton; Wood; Lascelles'.¹² There was also George Clerk, aged 30, who was a son of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a Scottish Whig magnate.¹³ Finally, according to Herring, one man was 'an honest young clergyman', who acted as their chaplain and also sent reports to Herring. He was possibly Nathaniel Hodgson of Birdsall (1708–93).¹⁴

Great things were expected of this unit. One newspaper thought that 'There is no doubt that this Regiment will do good service in case of Action'.¹⁵ Horace Walpole agreed: 'they are to act as a flying squadron to harass the enemy . . . and to give intelligence'.¹⁶ On 25 October, they arrived at Newcastle, which was to be the base of Marshal Wade's army. Their current strength was now about sixty, under Oglethorpe's command, and on their arrival they 'made a grand shew'.¹⁷ They were ordered to be in the vanguard of the army, a day's march before the main body, and certainly enjoyed this role on the march to Morpeth, before Wade ordered the army back to Newcastle.¹⁸ Later in November, they went from Barnard Castle to watch the movements of the rebels at Penrith before returning to report to Wade. According to Oglethorpe, 'the Royal Hunters and [the Georgian] Rangers bring me the best intelligence and I have made them send the last to Sir John Ligonier by express'.¹⁹ After all, among them the gentlemen would have had a good knowledge of the countryside of the north of England.²⁰

In the following month, when the rebels were retreating, Oglethorpe led a cavalry force of 500 men, which included the Royal Hunters, in pursuit of the rebels in Lancashire, though without much success, despite their impressive speed of 100 miles in three days. On 14 December they had reached Garstang and the cavalry were sent out to attack the rebels. A Jacobite observer, John Daniel, remarked: 'the Yorkshire Hunters endeavoured to shew themselves against us, but little to their honour.' Apparently they retreated and some were taken prisoner. According to Prevost, quoting *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, one Yorkshire Hunter was killed and another taken prisoner during the skirmish at Ellet Moor near Garstang.²¹ However, they also seem to have helped round up rebel stragglers and prisoners during the rebel retreat from Derby in December, taking several to Penrith, before they went to York. This task was applauded by Cuthbert Readshaw of Richmond, who wrote about the unit on 20 December: '[They] have done well, for being informd that abt 2 or 300 of ye rebels were at Lowther Hall they went there and attack'd them, killed 10 and dispersed ye rest'.²² Their work did not go without comment. Ralph Reed, on 29 November, told John Hill that they 'might have done good service by watching the rear of the rebel army' for stragglers, a role which they eventually adopted, as noted.²³ Stephen Thompson commented: 'They make more noise than they deserve, their numbers being much magnified'. Indeed, a spy at Manchester declared

¹². HMC, *Lady Du Cane*, p. 77.

¹³. Prevost, p. 232.

¹⁴. BL, Add. MS 35598, fol. 244^r.

¹⁵. *London Evening Post*, 2795, 3–5 October 1745.

¹⁶. *Horace Walpole's correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, ed. W. S. Lewis, III, 1745–48 (Yale, 1954), p. 127.

¹⁷. *The London Evening Post*, 2805, 26–29 October 1745.

¹⁸. *The Manchester Magazine*, 461, 12 November 1745.

¹⁹. *The Caledonian Mercury*, 3923, 3 December 1745; PRO, SP36/74, fol. 266^r.

²⁰. Prevost, p. 234.

²¹. *Origins of the 'Forty-five and Other Papers Relating to that Rising*, ed. W. B. Blaikie (Edinburgh, 1916), pp. 183–84; *The Manchester Magazine*, 463, 17 December 1745; PRO, SP36/77, fol. 8^r; Prevost, p. 241; *The Derby Mercury*, XIV, 40, 20–27 December 1745.

²². University of Hull, Brynmor Jones Library, Archives and Special Collections, DDSY (3)1, 48.

²³. HMC, *Var. Coll.* VIII, pp. 133–34.

that they numbered 1500, an impossibly high figure.²⁴ However, as noted below, he may have been missing the point. Admiral Edward Vernon thought that 'their spirit and example must be of infinite value'.²⁵

The Royal Hunters even had a ballad written about them, 'The Royal Hunter's March', possibly composed by the Rev. Laurence Sterne, which was published in *The Newcastle Journal* and *The Gentleman's Magazine*. It was described as a ballad for horn, and used hunting metaphors. It portrayed the Hunters as a fearsome menace to any traitors. The ballad accused the rebels of disturbing 'our pleasing toil', and referred to the rebels as 'The savage Race', 'monsters' and 'vermin', associating them with France and Spain. Positively, the Hunters were portrayed as a loyal and united band, whose cause was 'GEORGE and LIBERTY'. This aim was to be furthered by sweeping away the enemy in the chase of the hunt. The text is printed in full at the end of the article.²⁶ Their value in propaganda seems to have been great, since they were frequently referred to in the press, unlike the County Association forces. Fortescue called the force 'the first germ of our present yeomanry', which did not ripen until the onset of the French Revolutionary Wars almost fifty years later.²⁷ It is uncertain when they disbanded. Prevost is surely right to discount the possibility that they accompanied General Hawley's army in Scotland in January 1746. Since they are not mentioned after December 1745, it is probable that they disbanded when the rebels retreated back to Scotland. Since they were thanked by the Duke of Cumberland for their services in very early January 1746, probably at Carlisle, this does seem likely.²⁸

The only other cavalry force was a small one raised by the Earl of Malton, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding. Its members have been described as Austrian hussars, who had formerly been in Oglethorpe's service, but left because their leader, a tall Hungarian who called himself a baron, was made quartermaster rather than lieutenant. They acted as Malton's personal bodyguard, accompanying him from Wentworth House to Pontefract in November for example. They seem to have been armed and uniformed in a similar fashion to the Associated companies of infantry, with blue coats and swords presumably. Unlike the Associated forces, they were paid for out of Malton's own purse. Since there were thirteen men in all, and they were being paid 2s. per day, plus the cost of equipping them with 'the proper hussar dress, Arms, Horses etc.' this would work out at a total of £400 for the men to be in his service for sixty days. Malton asked the other gentlemen if he could be reimbursed, but was quite willing to pay up himself, if need be.²⁹ They also seem to have worked in co-operation with the Royal Hunters, by helping to train them in October. Later, in December, working in tandem to round up rebel stragglers, they captured a rebel officer, Captain George Hamilton, and took him to York. Hamilton had been wounded at the skirmish at Clifton, near Penrith, probably by one of their own number, for the historian James Ray claimed that Hamilton was wounded by a hussar.³⁰

There were, in addition to these cavalry forces, a number of independent companies

²⁴ HMC, *Lady du Cane*, p. 77; R. W. S. Norfolk, 'Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteer Forces of the East Riding, 1689-1908', *East Riding Local History Society* (1965), p. 8.

²⁵ National Maritime Museum Manuscripts, VER1/3/A, 29 October 1745.

²⁶ K. Monkman, 'Sterne and the Forty Five', *The Shandean*, 11 (1990), p. 57; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 15 (1745), p. 664.

²⁷ J. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 11 (London, 1899), p. 133.

²⁸ Prevost, p. 246; *The York Journal*, 7, 7 January 1746.

²⁹ Northampton Record Office, hereafter NRO, Malton to Fitzwilliam, 11 and 16 November 1745; *The London Evening Post*, 2820, 30 November-3 December 1745.

³⁰ *The Manchester Magazine*, 458, 22 October 1745; *The General Advertiser*, 3491, 4 January 1746; J. Ray, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion, 1745-1746* (London, 1759), p. 191.

of infantry founded in York, as well as those formed by the Corporation. The officers received their commissions from Malton. They aimed to serve in a similar fashion to the West Riding Associated companies.³¹ It would seem that they were formed into four companies, one for each ward of the city, and led by Colonel Pearson, a retired soldier. Since only the NCOs were paid, these men may have been humbler ex-soldiers, while the officers and privates were made up of gentlemen and merchants wealthy enough not to need paying a wage. They also were wealthy enough to pay for their own uniforms and equipment.³² However, they may not have been fully armed and equipped until the following year, since a report of July 1746 mentions that they had just received a full complement of muskets and bayonets, though it was already reckoned that their drill was proficient. Possibly they took so much trouble at this late date in order to parade for the Duke of Cumberland when he paid a visit to York, on 23 July.³³ In December 1745 they assisted in the search in York for arms and horses in the possession of Catholics, by being stationed at each Catholic's house until the search was over.³⁴ To some extent, their duties overlapped with those of the Corporation's own forces. Both seem to have performed guard duty on the walls and gateways. Apart from this, they seem to have been largely employed on ceremonial duties. For example, they went on parade with two regular cavalry regiments before York Minster on 11 February 1745/6.³⁵ They appear to have been in arms for the longest period of any of these volunteers, about ten months, only disbanding after Cumberland's visit.³⁶

There were several bodies of infantry formed at Leeds, possibly as many as four. The first reference to one was on 28 September, when 'Several merchants and gentlemen of Leeds' resolved to join the regular forces. They wore uniforms of blue turned up with red and possessed both arms and horses. They were reported to go through military exercises daily. Although they entered into a written agreement to stand by each other and enlist, there is no evidence that they did so.³⁷

Other formations were organised at Leeds, though, yet again, little is known about them. One was drawn up on 29 November, apparently ready to march, but was dismissed. Another was the Leeds Independent Company of gentlemen volunteers. They were composed of 'either Heirs apparent to Great Estates, or considerable merchants'. One of its members, one Mr Oates, who was probably a merchant (and no known ancestor of the author of this article), had travelled to Kendal to spy on the rebels there and returned to Leeds to tell what he had discovered. He then joined Sir John Ligonier's army, 'where he has offered himself as a Cadet'. He appealed to his fellows to do likewise and enlist. There was a meeting of the company to discuss their action. It would seem that they followed suit, since another newspaper refers to them joining Cumberland's army. (Cumberland had replaced Ligonier as commander of this army.) They were still in existence on 12 March, 1745/6, as they attended Henry Ibbetson of Denton Hall, now Sheriff of Yorkshire, on that day. They were now commanded by the second in command, Thomas Lee of Wakefield, who was also a Receiver for subscription money for the county forces.³⁸ This latter was the company formed by Ibbetson himself who raised at least a hundred (possibly as many as 300) men at his own expense. They assisted the York

³¹. *The London Evening Post*, 2805, 26–29 October 1745.

³². A. Ward, *History and Antiquities of York*, 1 (York, 1785), pp. 352–53.

³³. *Ibid.*, p. 355; *The General Advertiser*, 3657, 19 July 1746.

³⁴. *The London Evening Post*, 2825, 12–14 December 1745.

³⁵. *The General Advertiser*, 3528, 15 February 1746.

³⁶. Ward, p. 355.

³⁷. *The General Evening Post*, 1876, 3–5 October 1745.

³⁸. *The Newcastle Journal*, 348, 7 December 1745; *The General Advertiser*, 3463, 5 December 1745, 3552, 15 March 1746; WYAS, Leeds, NH2875/21.

companies in the search of York Catholic premises.³⁹ There is also a reference to a company led by Richard Wilson, the Recorder of Leeds, which was composed of gentlemen volunteers. The men were recorded as having 'delighted much in fiddling with firelocks and bayonets'. Four brothers who were in this company spent a few days with the regulars before returning to Leeds.⁴⁰ It would seem that both Wilson and Ibbetson were enthusiastic Whigs. Both had voted for the ministry in the 1741 election, and both subscribed liberally (£100 each) to the County Association Fund. It seems curious that they both founded companies of volunteers, unless there was some personal rivalry between the two men.⁴¹

It also appears that there may have been independent companies formed at Hull too, though these may have been formed under the aegis of the Corporation, as at York. A letter appears in *The General Advertiser* of 30 November, stating 'I believe we shall raise near 20 independent companies; all trading people'.⁴² However, William Cookson, mayor of Hull, in his letters to the Duke of Newcastle, does not mention them by name, though he does refer to the raising of volunteer companies in the city. Fourteen companies were formed.⁴³ It is difficult to be certain whether these forces were raised by the mayor or by private gentlemen, though the former is more likely.

Other armed bodies, not apparently composed of gentry and merchants, though under their orders, were evident in several other places. At Sheffield, the Corporation of Cutlers paid 'a large sum of money' in order to arm their journeymen 'for the Defence of their own Property and the Constitution of their Country'.⁴⁴ Likewise, in Halifax two gentlemen, James Alderson (a Tory) and William Radcliffe, commanded the 450 working clothiers who 'voluntarily enter'd themselves to bear Arms and conform to military discipline, for the Defence of His Majesty's Person and Government'.⁴⁵ Unfortunately we know nothing of the activity, if any, of either unit. It is unlikely that either left their respective towns. However, there is a reference to a subscription in Halifax being entered into by gentlemen, merchants, tradesmen and others 'for raising a body of men to march to Carlisle', so clearly some did envisage a more active role for the volunteers. Whether this body was the one mentioned above led by Alderson and Radcliffe, is unknown. It is also uncertain whether this scheme pre-dates the fall of Carlisle to the rebels or not. It certainly was reported in late November. In any case, there was no mention of it ever having marched out of Halifax. It appears to have been a different unit from the one mentioned earlier, which was raised in early October.⁴⁶

In Pickering the freeholders formed their own unit of volunteers. They wore cockades and went through military drill. A contemporary wrote that they 'meet twice a week, to exercise with their Guns under an experienced Soldier'. Although such voluntary movements were strictly local in their activity, their influence was probably more widespread. This episode was reported in *The York Courant* in October, concluding 'It is Justice to the Town to let our Country know this, I hope such an Example is not wanted to give Spirit to other Places. I am, with my cockade on, Yours, etc.'⁴⁷

Although William Thornton, a squire from Cattal, near Knaresborough, accepted a commission as a captain in the North Riding Association, he decided unilaterally to

39. A. C. Price, *The Story of Leeds* (Leeds, 1912), pp. 36–37; WYAS, Leeds, NH2875/12.

40. BL, Add. MS 51386, fols 96^r–96^v.

41. Anon, *An Exact List of the subscribers...* (York, 1747), pp. 23, 45.

42. *The General Advertiser*, 3460, 30 November 1745.

43. PRO, SP36/76, fol. 96^r.

44. *The London Evening Post*, 2794, 1–3 October 1745.

45. *The General Advertiser*, 3414, 17 October 1745.

46. *The Newcastle Courant*, 2711, 30 November–7 December 1745.

47. *The York Courant*, 1044, 15 October 1745.

attach his men to the army of Wade at Newcastle in late October. They formed part of either Pulteney's brigade or his regiment, possibly because the latter unit was at reduced strength due to casualties abroad.⁴⁸ Unlike the rest of the Associated companies, they had been armed and equipped at Thornton's own expense, and numbered between sixty-four and eighty men, as opposed to the more usual fifty. He had raised the men within two days, and had the luxury of being able to select men from the 140 who came forward. The men included the remarkable Jack Metcalfe, blind musician and roadmaker, who not only assisted in recruiting, but later acted as a spy on the rebels after Falkirk.⁴⁹

The decision to break away from the Association dismayed the North Riding Lord Lieutenant, Sir Conyers Darcy, but excited the enthusiasm of one writer, who admired Thornton's 'spirit and courage', adding that he 'cannot be too much commended'.⁵⁰ No one could say that they shied away from the hardships of soldiering. Thornton and his men camped out on the moor near Newcastle in order to harden themselves against the harsh climate, helped by tents, and blankets for each man. These were paid for by either Thornton or General Wentworth — the sources are conflicting.⁵¹ When Wade advanced with the vanguard to Morpeth on 4 November, Thornton's company accompanied him.⁵² They also served at the battle of Falkirk on 17 January 1745/6, 'where he [Thornton] behaved very gallantly'. Yet he and several of his men were captured, escaping a few days later.⁵³

There was royal approval for Thornton. On his return to Knaresborough, he was treated as a hero and presented with a magnificent piece of plate.⁵⁴ Apparently, 'on all occasions [he] received every respect and attention from His Royal Highness [presumably Cumberland]' and was presented in 1747 to George II, who said to him: 'tell me now, Captain Thornton, I did not know how extremely I have been obliged to you'.⁵⁵ The unit is reported to have returned to Newcastle in March, where presumably it disbanded. (The Association had disbanded its men in the previous month.)⁵⁶

All the volunteer forces so far mentioned were cavalry or infantry. The only artillery unit formed at this time was the one raised by Hull Trinity House. This consisted of four artillery companies, whose strength is unknown. The officers were all senior members of the Trinity House, either Wardens, such as Captains John Wilkinson and W. Purver, Elder Brethren such as Captain Thomas Haworth and Lieutenants Jopson and Draper, or Assistants such as Lieutenants Cottam and Richard Hill. Their twenty nine-pounder cannon had been borrowed from a ship laid at Hull and sited on the bastions and ramparts surrounding the town. Unlike many other volunteer formations, they had no uniforms, but wore cockades in their hats to identify themselves.⁵⁷

It would appear that all these additional forces raised in Yorkshire were a great boon to the loyalist cause. Yet the independent forces rarely served to supplement the work of the County Association forces by acting in tandem. There was no co-operation evident. Their existence might well have served to dilute the efficiency of the volunteer forces in their entirety by making them less united and by taking useful and wealthy men away from the county forces. It had been the intention to provide for cavalry out of the

⁴⁸. *The London Evening Post*, 2805, 26–29 October 1745.

⁴⁹. J. D. Hannam, *The Life of John Metcalfe* (Knaresborough, 1862), pp. 37, 38, 44; BL, Add. MS 24443, fol. 69^r.

⁵⁰. Sheffield Archives, WWM1/342; *The London Evening Post*, 2805, 26–29 October 1745.

⁵¹. *The Life of John Metcalfe*, p. 38; NRO, Malton to Fitzwilliam, 2 November 1745.

⁵². *The Manchester Magazine*, 461, 12 November 1745; *The London Evening Post*, 2809, 5–7 November 1745.

⁵³. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16 (1746), p. 42.

⁵⁴. BL, Add. MS 24443, fol. 69^r.

⁵⁵. *Ibid.*, fol. 69^v.

⁵⁶. *The Manchester Magazine*, 474, 11 March 1746.

⁵⁷. Norfolk, pp. 7–8, 41.

Association funds, but this scheme came to nothing. The gentlemen and their servants who made up the Royal Hunters could have formed its backbone.

On the other hand, the Royal Hunters and Thornton's company, attached as they were to Wade's forces, seem to have performed useful services, especially the former. The other independent forces seem to have been more localised, and probably did little real military work, but, like many of the county forces, performed routine security tasks and served to promote local loyalty to George II. Unlike the Association forces, they were not reliant on the Board of Ordnance to supply arms, but being men of means, could supply their own and thus not be held up by delays in the arms supply. Their propaganda impact was also significant, since their formation and activity were regularly reported in the press.

Many of those involved in these forces may have been prompted by their own self-interest. Clearly Ibbetson and Thornton did well out of the rebellion, though both showed extreme zeal for both their own and the King's cause. The former became a baronet and Mayor of Leeds, while Thornton became an M.P. for Yorkshire. Others, such as the York independents, did their best to make a good impression before Cumberland. It is also worth noting that those who were involved were almost wholly gentry and merchants, men who were not of the highest social standing in the county. This could have been because they wished to serve independently, rather than under the county hierarchy of the nobility such as Malton. For the young gentlemen of the Royal Hunters, a sense of adventure may have prompted their actions.

The very fact that there were so many of these forces, spread out all over the county, as well as the Association forces, casts an interesting light on the debate as to whether eighteenth-century England was increasingly militarised. Some contemporaries argued that there was a decline in martial values among the gentry, though more recently there has been comment that England was becoming more of a 'military state' with increasingly larger professional armies. It would appear that in the hour of need, Englishmen were not averse to resorting to arms, though how adept they were at their use is clearly another story. Decadence, however, as feared by moralists, was not apparent.⁵⁸

Some of these myriad forces did useful and practical work, whilst some were wholly parochial, yet did some routine security tasks as well as those which were mostly ceremonial and morale-boosting. The independent forces demonstrated the zeal of local elites towards the Hanoverian dynasty. Their very existence shows that the myth of political apathy towards the Whig oligarchy is just that. Although these contributions to anti-Jacobitism were not decisive in themselves, they do indicate that the feeling among many county gentry and others was to take a public stand against the rebellion.

The ROYAL HUNTER's March. A BALLAD.

Since Tencin's schemes, and Charles's dreams, Disturb our pleasing toil,
Let us u-nite, And put to flight Those monsters of our isle.
The fox and hare A-while we'll spare, To seek a worthier prey,
And all re-sort To nobler sport, Where glor-ry points the way.

When such a cause And King and laws
Our instant aid demand,
Who wou'd not strive Away to drive
Those vermin from the land?

⁵⁸. H. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 40-44; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 15 (1745), p. 432.

Bold *Nimrod* first In battle durst
 Lead on th' advent'rous van,
 And, purpled o'er With Sylvan gore,
 Employ'd his arms on man.

 In later days The hunter's praise
 Let *Aurengzebe* declare,
 By hunting taught Whose troops were brought
 Fatigues in arms to bear.

 The generous steeds Our country breeds
 Shall sweep along the plain,
 And Highlands glens And lowland fens
 Obstruct their course in vain.

 One heart, one hand, A loyal band,
 We'll pour upon the foe,
 And *France* and *Spain* Shall both in vain
 Conspire to give us law.

 Then hark away Without delay,
 Where Honour loudly calls;
 Henceforth we'll chase The savage race
 And hunt them to their holes.

 And when our arms Shall from alarms
 Ourselves and country free
 We'll crown the bowl Without controul
 To GEORGE and LIBERTY.

 O then we'll rise. And rend the skies
 With sound of chearful horn,
 And beat the ground The country round,
 And ev'ry traitor scorn.⁵⁹

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⁵⁹. This ballad is described as being 'Set to Musick in Imitation of the Early Horn'. Tencin was Pierre Guerin, Cardinal de Tencin, French representative in Rome. *Aurengzebe* refers to a hero of Indian history who was the subject of a tragedy by Dryden.

THE SIDGWICKS OF SKIPTON: THE RISE AND FALL OF A FAMILY FIRM

By Kenneth C. Jackson

1. INTRODUCTION

During the early eighteenth century, Skipton emerged as an important centre of the wool textile industry and the trade in textiles was further stimulated by completion of the canal from Skipton to Bradford in 1774. Cotton yarn was first manufactured in the town in 1785 and when the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was extended into Lancashire during the early nineteenth century, the emphasis of Skipton's textile industry shifted slowly towards cotton.¹ Initially, the growth of the cotton industry was constrained by land availability and tenure, but after 1865 expansion was rapid with output and employment eventually reaching a peak in the 1920s.²

The town's first mechanised cotton mill, which opened in 1785, was located in the shadow of Skipton Castle and adjacent to Skipton Woods. It became known as the High Mill (NGR: SD 992 522). The undertaking expanded to the limits of this site and, in 1839/40, further capacity was installed at the Low Mill (NGR: SD 991 513) on the canal side, where a housing development, Sidgwick Court, now stands. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, the business failed to share the good fortune of the cotton industry in general, and in 1890 it succumbed.

This paper describes the circumstances in which the Sidgwicks' business was established and reviews its operation during the first half of the nineteenth century. It also considers the pressures on the business in the years leading up to its closure. Many first generation cotton textile firms were unable to sustain the adoption of the continuous stream of technical and commercial innovations needed to maintain their success, and the Sidgwicks were no exception. Furthermore, by the late nineteenth century, the family was less committed to an economic dependence on cotton textiles and this factor, above all others, explains why trading ceased even before the peak in the industry life-cycle was reached in 1914.

2. THE ORIGINS OF THE HIGH MILL

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, there was continuous growth in UK cotton fibre consumption. This was stimulated by a shift in consumer preferences in favour of cotton goods and away from linen and wool fabrics. The shift was based variously on considerations of price, easy care and comfort. The ability to supply this market was made possible by the introduction of factory-based machinery, operated by water power.³

One of the best known and most successful of these systems was patented by Arkwright,

¹ A. and S. E. Raistrick, *Skipton: a Study in Site Value* (Newtown, Montgomeryshire, 1930).

² K. C. Jackson, 'The Textile Industry in Nineteenth Century Skipton', *Yorkshire History Quarterly*, 4.1 (Aug. 1998), pp. 15–20, 4.2 (Nov. 1998), pp. 55–58.

³ G. Timmins, *Four Centuries of Lancashire Cotton* (Preston, 1996), pp. 30–34.

although the individual components should more properly be attributed to his associates.⁴ When the patents finally expired in 1785, the stage was set for an unprecedented surge in the construction of cotton spinning mills throughout the Pennines, wherever the flow of streams and rivers was sufficient to turn a water-wheel. The High Mill at Skipton was constructed during this period.

On 23 February 1784, the eighth Earl of Thanet agreed to pay the partnership of Peter Garforth, John Blackburn and John Sidgwick £1000 to construct a mill with mill wheel and water courses at the Spring in Skipton. The partners in turn agreed to lease the facility for twenty-one years at £80 per annum after which the property would revert to the Earl. The lease was effective from 2 February 1785. The Earl made his payment on the basis of £500 in advance and the remainder on completion and the two payments were made on 3 July and 18 December 1784, respectively, suggesting that the mill was ready for the installation of machinery by the end of 1784. It is of interest that while accepting the Earl of Thanet's terms, the partners had estimated a cost of £1061 12s. 4d. for masonry and timber work alone, exclusive of any excavations for the watercourses.⁵

It is not clear whether the Earl or the partners were responsible for this initiative. The former did much to develop limestone quarrying along the banks of Eller Beck and also at Haw Park. His successor expanded this venture, constructed the Springs canal⁶ and encouraged the building of a tramway to connect Haw Park with the canal.⁷ To finance the building of a cotton mill within sight of Skipton Castle was quite consistent with these other activities. Indeed, the commitment of both Earls to industrial development was such as to cause T. D. Whitaker to refer, in 1805, to a 'deep and beautiful dell immediately beneath the walls [of the castle], of which I will not say how it has of late been mutilated and how defiled'.⁸ By contrast, in the mid-Victorian period, J. H. Dixon likened the High Mill to a convent in a Swiss or Italian valley.⁹

It can be calculated that the terms of the build-and-lease arrangement gave the Earl of Thanet a compound interest rate of return equal to 5.3 per cent per annum over the life of the lease. Although businesslike, this was modest by comparison with the rates of profit then prevailing in the cotton industry at large, and there is at least one recorded instance of a firm recovering its initial investment in the first year.¹⁰ While the partners were burdened with fixed leasing charges, which had to be met in the bad times as well as the good ones, they were none the less given ample scope to conduct a successful business, and it is apparent that even if the Earl did not initiate the project, he was very much in sympathy with it.

However, estimates prepared by Chapman¹¹ show that £1000 was well short of the capital needed to construct an Arkwright-style mill, of which the High Mill was an example.¹² A sum of £3000 to £5000 would be more realistic. The implication is that the partners also invested a considerable amount in machinery and other fixed assets as well as providing working capital. This is corroborated by an insurance valuation, dated 1793, which values the assets at £2800, made up of £800 for the property and £2000

⁴ K. Fisk, 'Arkwright: Cotton King or Spin Doctor?', *History Today*, 48.3 (March 1998), p. 27.

⁵ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Skipton MSS, DD121/51, Skipton Cotton Mill.

⁶ YAS, DD121/118/3, Survey of the Earl of Thanet's Estates in Craven.

⁷ M. Clarke, *The Leeds and Liverpool Canal* (Preston, 1990), pp. 150–54.

⁸ T. D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven in the County of York* (London, 1805), p. 220.

⁹ J. H. Dixon, *Chronicles and Stories of the Craven Dales* (Skipton, 1881), p. 118.

¹⁰ S. D. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1972), p. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹² W. H. Dawson, *A History of Independency in Skipton from 1770 to 1890* (Skipton, 1891), p. 30.

for the equipment and stocks.¹³ Whether this is inclusive of the Earl of Thanet's investment is not specified.

The amount invested by each partner is not known. Even so, it is clear from subsequent events that it was John Sidgwick, whatever his financial involvement at the outset, who provided the necessary operational skills. The Sidgwick family also demonstrated a long-term commitment to the High Mill, and indeed, John's son, William was the sole lessee when the lease was renewed in February 1807.¹⁴ Furthermore, the evidence presented to the enquiries on child labour first by William Sidgwick in 1816 and then by his son John Benson Sidgwick in 1834, demonstrates that the family had a sound grasp of both commercial and technical issues in cotton textiles.¹⁵

Peter Garforth, on the other hand, seems to have been more of an entrepreneur, financier and facilitator. During the mid-eighteenth century he was in partnership with Thomas Garforth as a corn miller at Meanwood in the parish of Leeds.¹⁶ The Sidgwicks also lived in Leeds at this time, and in 1758 Peter Garforth married John Sidgwick's sister, Mary.¹⁷ In 1763 the couple were living in Skipton and Peter Garforth was now running a paper-making business in premises adjacent to the High Corn Mill. He also acted for the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company in acquiring the land needed for the canal, which reached Skipton in 1773.¹⁸ It was, perhaps, in this connection that he first transacted business with the Earl of Thanet or his agent. Certainly, he was an experienced businessman and well suited to reaching an agreement between landowner and manufacturer with a view to exploiting the new technology of cotton textiles. Peter Garforth and/or his son, Peter Garforth (Junior) subsequently established cotton mills at Bingley (with the Sidgwicks) and Bell Busk, although these mills soon passed to other owners.¹⁹

It is of interest that Peter Garforth was a man of religious conviction and one of the early followers of John Wesley in Skipton. That he was also a man of financial substance is suggested by the fact that in 1791 he financed the building of the first Methodist chapel in the town on what is now Chapel Hill.²⁰

John Blackburn was the third partner. Little is known of him except that he withdrew from the project before the lease on the mill was renewed in 1807. A person of this name appears in a list of subscribers to Skipton Corn Charity in 1795 and again in a list of Parliamentary electors in 1807. Neither list specifies his status or occupation.²¹ The original lease of 1785 describes him simply as a yeoman.

Before turning to a description of the High Mill, it is worth commenting further on the involvement of the Earls of Thanet (and their successors) in industrial development. Build-and-lease agreements involving a landowner and a partnership of business proprietors represented a useful source of capital in the decades prior to the Limited Liability Acts of 1856 and 1862. For example, in 1798 a cotton mill at Rylstone was promoted in

¹³. G. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton: The Yorkshire Cotton Industry 1780-1835* (Preston, 1997), p. 239.

¹⁴. YAS, DD121/118/3.

¹⁵. *Report on the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the State of Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom* (hereafter *Select Committee Evidence*), pp. 114-21 (Parliamentary Papers 1816, III, pp. 348-55); *Supplementary Reports of the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in Factories*, Part II (hereafter *FIC Supplementary Report*), C.1, pp. 61-62, 313-14 (PP1834, XX, pp. 459-60, 1041-42). These sources deal principally with the employment of children, but in defining the social context of cotton textile production, they also provide technical and commercial insights.

¹⁶. W. A. Hopwood and F. D. Casperson, *Meanwood: Village, Valley, Industry and People* (Leeds, 1986), p. 16.

¹⁷. R. G. Rowley, *Old Skipton* (Clapham, 1969), p. 46.

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁹. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 115.

²⁰. W. H. Dawson, *History of Skipton* (Skipton, 1882), p. 305.

²¹. *Ibid.*, pp. 351, 362.

this way using finance from the Duke of Devonshire.²² The approach was not restricted to cotton textiles, and in 1835 the eleventh Earl of Thanet financed the building of the Craven Lead Works in Skipton for John Fell and Forster Horner.²³ However, the Skipton Castle estate was involved in build-and-lease agreements only sparingly.

The Castle estate was similarly cautious in allocating building land to independent developers, and until the late 1860s leasehold tenure was the norm. Furthermore, leases were short with terms of no more than forty years typical of the late eighteenth century, increasing to fifty years and then sixty years in the first half of the nineteenth century. No freehold sales to commercial developers were entertained.²⁴ It has been argued that this policy stifled the town's economy and delayed industrialisation.²⁵ This may well have been the case, although leasehold tenure does not appear to have discouraged the Sidgwicks who remained at the High Mill on a succession of short leases for 105 years, as shown in Table 1. Furthermore, on the evidence presented so far in this paper, it would be wrong to suggest that the Earls of Thanet were opposed to industrial development. Control rather than outright opposition seems to have been the aim.

TABLE 1: Leases of the High Mill

From	To	Years	Annual Rental
2 February 1785	2 February 1806	21	£80
2 February 1807	2 February 1824	17	£150
2 February 1816	2 February 1836	20	£150
2 February 1819	2 February 1879	60	£150
2 February 1879	2 February 1899	20	£150

Note: The year from 2 February 1806 is unaccounted for.
Source: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, DD121/118, Nineteenth Century Valuations.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE HIGH MILL

The early leases refer not to the High Mill, but to the cotton mill in the Spring (singular), which is the area immediately to the north of Skipton Castle. The designation 'High Mill' probably dates from after 1840, by which time the Sidgwicks were operating on two separate sites and some way of distinguishing them would then be necessary. For convenience, however, this later designation is used throughout this paper.

On 23 February 1784 a plan for the mill was approved by the partners.²⁶ The front elevation is reproduced in Figure 1, and this shows a building approximately 128 feet wide, consisting of four storeys and seventeen bays. A cupola is positioned on the roof. This is supported by four fluted Corinthian columns and surmounted by a fish-tail weather vane. It would appear to be a ventilator. At each end of the roof there are domestic-style chimneys which are no doubt part of the heating system. A ground plan which accompanies the elevation shows a blacksmith's shop occupying the first four bays. The water wheel is positioned within the mill, at right angles to the front elevation, and occupies the fifth bay. The counting house is on the extreme right and takes up two bays. A staircase is located behind the counting house.

22. G. Ingle, 'The Rilston and Hetton Cotton Mills', *Yorkshire History Quarterly*, 3.1 (Aug. 1997), p. 6.
23. YAS, DD121/118/3.
24. Rowley, *Old Skipton*, p. 21.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
26. YAS, DD121/51.

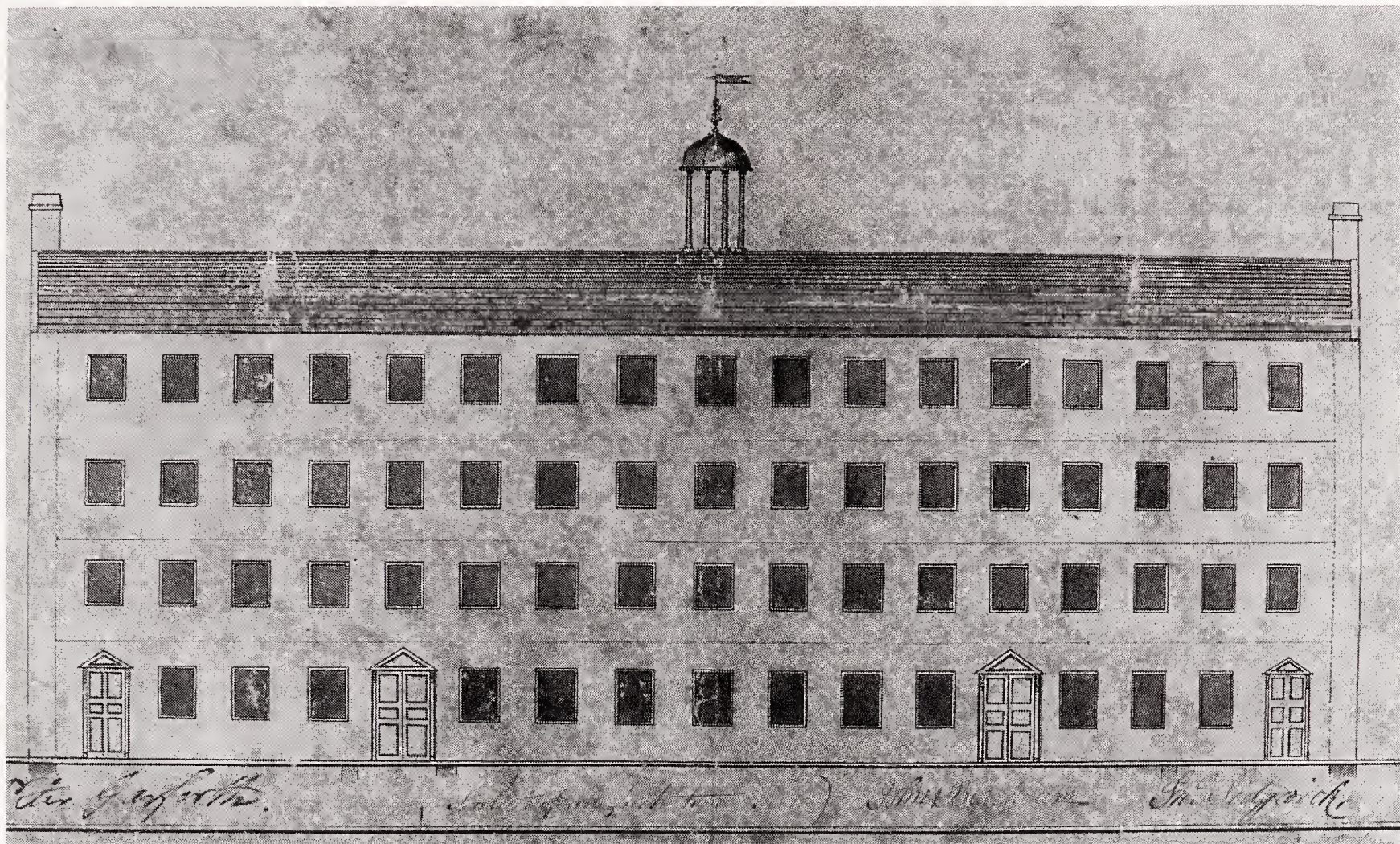


Fig. 1. Main elevation of the High Mill as shown in the plan of 1784 (YAS, DD121/51), scale of 1:100 (approximately). Here reduced to approximately 33% of original size. By permission of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

It is impossible to confirm that the mill was constructed exactly in accordance with this plan, although it can be confirmed from a site visit that the elevation was of the proposed width. Furthermore, Dixon's comments, which were mentioned above, lend some support. In likening the mill to a convent, he writes:

The style of architecture is the same: a large edifice of brick or stone, three or four stories high, with a cupola-formed campanile! Indeed, the appearance of the convents of St Bernard and Vallombrosa, and numerous others, is exactly that presented by many of our cotton and worsted mills; and particularly that of Messrs Sidgwick.²⁷

The 1784 plan makes no reference to the watercourses. The map reproduced in Figure 2 gives some of the detail as at 1860. Water is drawn from Eller Beck into a head race which then passes over the beck and along a substantial embankment. There is an overflow channel on the approach to the mill, and a reservoir near the junction with Eller Beck. Comparison of this map with the 1896 Ordnance Survey (surveyed 1889/90) suggests that, in the intervening years, the reservoir was extended to form what is commonly known as the Round Dam, and that the present substantial weir was constructed on Eller Beck, thereby increasing the capacity of the Long Dam. Whether these works reflected the needs of the High Mill or of other users downstream is not clear.

Downstream of the mill, water from the tail race was fed into the dam serving the High Corn Mill, before being returned to the beck. After a short distance water was again drawn off to service the mill at Millfields. Upstream, there were no other water mills on Eller Beck, although its main tributary, Embsay Beck, was used to power several

²⁷. Dixon, *Chronicles and Stories*, p. 118.



Fig. 2. The High Mill and its water courses as represented on the 'Map and Geological Sections of the Skipton Local Board of Health District 1860', scale of 24 inches to 1 mile (1:2640). Here reduced to 56% of original size. By courtesy of the North Yorkshire County Library, Skipton.

mills. However, no evidence has been found to suggest that these operations created serious inconvenience for the High Mill.

In 1833 John Benson Sidgwick, in responding to a survey by the Factories Inquiry Commission (FIC),²⁸ stated that the High Mill could generate between fifteen and thirty horse-power using water. Chapman has confirmed that until the 1830s, given the existing minimum plant size, sites with this capability were likely to be competitive.²⁹ J. B. Sidgwick also pointed out to the Commission that steam power had been adopted in 1825 (during an industry-wide investment boom), providing a further thirty horse-power. The adoption of steam power was by then a well established trend, and Baines stated that by 1835, steam accounted for around 75 per cent of the power used in the cotton industry in Lancashire and the adjacent areas.³⁰

The introduction of steam power at the High Mill was associated with the building of an extension on the south end of the property. The original water-powered structure may eventually have been used for storage,³¹ but J. B. Sidgwick stated clearly that, for the time being, water and steam were used in parallel. Indeed, there is circumstantial evidence that the water-wheel may have been running as late as 1853.³² No description of the 1825 extension has been found beyond the outline of the ground plan, which corresponds to the lower half of the building shown in Figure 2. However, it is not entirely certain that all of this dates from 1825 because a list of leases contains an entry made in 1816 which mentions a 'new erected warehouse' of unspecified extent.³³ There are also passing references to the 1825 extension in the evidence to the FIC.

An interesting detail of the ground plan is the detached circular structure, which the 1850 Ordnance Survey defines as a gas holder. The production of coal gas, on site, for use in lighting was a common feature of early nineteenth-century mills. It is uncertain as to when the production of gas started at the High Mill. Industry-wide, the earliest recorded example is in 1805,³⁴ but the siting of the gas holder at the High Mill suggests 1825 or thereafter, unless, of course, it replaced an earlier facility. J. B. Sidgwick's evidence confirms that gas lighting was in use by 1833.

Adequate ventilation of cotton-spinning mills to ensure removal of dust and loose fibre was an important issue given the nature of the manufacturing process. The need for good ventilation is reinforced by the use of gas lighting. It is therefore interesting to note J. B. Sidgwick's reference to the use of roof fans operated by the mill's power plant, although it is not clear whether this equipment was available in both old and new sections of the mill. The use of fans was by no means universal in the industry at this time.³⁵

In 1816 William Sidgwick was questioned by a Parliamentary Select Committee on child labour about the temperatures within the mill during the winter months.³⁶ His response was vague, stating that the mill was not kept at a particular temperature, rather that it was made 'pleasantly warm'. He went on to say that 'the heat varies; when the heat has got into the pipes, the fire goes down, and the tubes being hot, warms the place for some time, and then the fire is made up again'. In 1833 J. B. Sidgwick responded to a similar enquiry with much greater precision, indicating the importance of the ventilation

²⁸. *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 61 (PP1834, xx, p. 459).

²⁹. Chapman, *Cotton Industry in Industrial Revolution*, p. 19.

³⁰. *Ibid.*, p. 19, extracted from E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture* (London, 1835).

³¹. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 239.

³². *Craven Herald*, Aug. 1853.

³³. YAS, DD121/118/3.

³⁴. C. Giles and I. H. Goodall, *Yorkshire Textile Mills: The Buildings of the Yorkshire Textile Industry, 1770-1930* (London, 1992), p. 60.

³⁵. *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 61 (PP1834, xx, p. 459).

³⁶. Select Committee Evidence, p. 118 (PP1816, III, p. 352).

system in maintaining an even temperature within the range 70 to 75 degrees Fahrenheit.³⁷ He uses the phrase 'in our interest' in this connection, and this perhaps implies not only a concern for the comfort of the operatives, but also an understandable desire to keep the temperature within a range which would help to minimise the incidence of thread-breaks in spinning and weaving and thereby achieve higher machine and operative efficiency.

It is clear from the observations above that the business was expanding during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In addition, the Sidgwicks were evidently keen to reflect good practice in mill design and engineering in their investment programme.

Finally, there are three further features of the 1860 plan which require comment. First, there is a long, detached building on the east side of the original structure and this is now a private house known as The Old Saw Mill. This building may have contained the blowroom where the initial processes of opening, cleaning and blending of raw cotton were carried out. Mechanisation of these processes became possible at the very end of the eighteenth century,³⁸ and because of the high risk of fire detached buildings were favoured. A newspaper report of a minor fire at the High Mill, albeit in 1882, states that the blowroom was located in a detached building.³⁹ It seems appropriate to ask whether the 'new erected warehouse' mentioned in 1816 was in fact the blowroom. Secondly, on the south-east boundary of the site are some buildings which correspond to the cottages at Wood Grove. The 1851 Census shows that these were occupied by families associated with the mill. Thirdly, on the north-west boundary is a detached building, now known as Primrose Cottage, which was then the mill manager's house. This appears in the undated photograph shown in Figure 3, and it can be seen that from the house, a bridge leads over the goyt and into the top storey of the old mill. The buildings referred to in this paragraph all survive, although most of the mill itself was demolished shortly after its closure in 1890.

4. PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES AT THE HIGH MILL

When it opened in 1785, the High Mill was equipped with spinning machinery (and associated preparation systems) comparable in design to Arkwright's water-frame, although it was constructed independently and without payment of royalties.⁴⁰ Under a legal ruling made in 1781, Arkwright had lost his patent rights on grounds that he had not given an adequate description of the machinery in his specification. This opened the way for yarn producers to build their own machines without acknowledgement of Arkwright's patent. However, early in 1785, he successfully challenged this verdict and subsequently obtained an injunction against the firms which he alleged to be infringing his patent.⁴¹ Those affected included the partnership at the High Mill, and for a time production ceased.⁴²

A number of cotton spinners responded with further litigation, claiming prior invention, in support of which several key witnesses successfully claimed the credit for the technical innovations covered by the patent. Arkwright emerged as an entrepreneur skilled in the application of the ideas of other people, but he finally lost the rights to his patent, and

³⁷. *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 62 (PP1834, xx, p. 460).

³⁸. G. Timmins, 'Technological Change', in *The Lancashire Cotton Industry, a History since 1700*, ed. M. B. Rose (Preston, 1996), p. 45.

³⁹. *Craven Pioneer*, 18 Nov. 1882.

⁴⁰. Dawson, *Independency in Skipton*, p. 30. For a technical account of this and other early spinning equipment, see H. Catling, *The Spinning Mule* (Newton Abbot, 1970, republished by Lancashire County Council Library and Leisure Committee, 1986).

⁴¹. Fisk, *History Today*, 48.3, p. 28.

⁴². Dawson, *Independency in Skipton*, p. 30.



Fig. 3. The head race of the High Mill with part of the original building on the right and Primrose Cottage on the left. The photograph is taken from an upper storey of the 1825 extension. By courtesy of Michael Feather via Donald Binns, Skipton.

by the end of 1785 the principles which it contained became freely available.⁴³ Accordingly the High Mill resumed operation and continued to use Arkwright-type machinery until 1814. In that year, the throstle, a development of the water-frame, was introduced.⁴⁴ This equipment had originated at the turn of the eighteenth century, but it was not until the period 1810 to 1815 that significant diffusion of the technology took place.⁴⁵ The Sidgwicks, if not amongst the first wave of adopters, were not slow in updating their equipment. Many sources associate the introduction of throstles with the adoption of steam power. It is therefore of interest that in giving evidence to the Select Committee in 1816, William Sidgwick made reference only to water power.⁴⁶

The new machines were used to produce yarns of 27s to 30s cotton count (that is, with 27 to 30 hanks of 840 yards per pound weight). These are comparatively coarse yarns and are consistent with an end use in calico, which was often used as a substrate in the production of printed fabrics.⁴⁷ The manufacture of calico was well established in Craven at this time. John Dewhurst, later the promoter of Belle Vue Mills in Skipton, was one of those involved in calico production, either on the basis of putting out yarn to individual handloom weavers, or through the employment of handloom weavers in a loom shop.⁴⁸

⁴³. Fisk, *History Today*, 48.3, p. 28.

⁴⁴. *Select Committee Evidence*, p. 115 (PP1816, III, p. 349).

⁴⁵. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 39, also Timmins in *The Lancashire Cotton Industry*, p. 43.

⁴⁶. *Select Committee Evidence*, pp. 115–17 (PP1816, III, pp. 349–51).

⁴⁷. W. Watson, *Textile Design and Colour* (London, 1921), p. 386.

⁴⁸. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 84.

The Sidgwicks were not themselves engaged in fabric manufacture at this stage, but instead, supplied manufacturers with yarn. For the most part, these customers were based in Craven,⁴⁹ and it was some years before trade through markets further afield began.

Even so, in giving evidence to the Select Committee, William Sidgwick demonstrated an awareness of the wider commercial context, having recently returned from France. He was mindful of the large volumes of British cotton yarn sold there, and of the disruptive consequences for British spinners if this demand ceased to be available, whether for political or other reasons. He was also impressed by the French spinners, especially their ability to produce very fine yarns.⁵⁰

William Sidgwick's evidence also contains an indirect reference to the productivity of the throstle frames at the High Mill, from which it can be deduced that 100 operative hours were taken to process 100 pounds weight of cotton fibre (abbreviated here to 100 OHP).⁵¹ Chapman has calculated that Arkwright-type spinning in the most efficient mills at the turn of the eighteenth century was capable of operating within the range 250 to 370 OHP.⁵² Catling has shown that rapid developments in mule spinning (the principal alternative to the water frame and the throstle) increased the productive potential of that technology from 300 OHP in the 1790s to 135 OHP by 1825.⁵³ By these standards the Sidgwicks' machinery was highly productive. However, Catling (explicitly) and Chapman (implicitly) provided estimates relating to the production of a yarn of 80s cotton count, which is very much finer than the output at the High Mill. More time is needed to produce a given weight of finer yarn, although the increase is not necessarily proportionate to the increase in count. A fair judgement would be that the throstles installed by the Sidgwicks in 1814 were more productive than water-frames, but less productive than contemporary mules.

This raises the issue of why the Sidgwicks invested in throstles when many other spinners were buying the more productive mules. A likely explanation is that the Sidgwicks did not have a market for the finer yarns for which the mule was best suited. In addition, because the local handloom industry absorbed a significant male workforce, throstles were perhaps deemed more suitable in that, unlike mules, they could be operated using an unskilled female and juvenile workforce.

The final operating issue raised by William Sidgwick's evidence concerns the need to maintain high activity levels at the mill, partly to contain capital costs per unit of output, but also to increase stock turnover and thereby minimise working capital requirements. The latter were substantial and, in response to questioning, William Sidgwick estimated them as 'a moiety' (a half) of the total capital employed.⁵⁴ However, this is a little imprecise in that he was not asked to define the basis of valuation of the fixed capital in regard to such matters as the treatment of depreciation and the inclusion, or otherwise, of the unexpired portion of the lease.

When J. B. Sidgwick made his returns to the FIC in 1833, products and processes had evolved further and the steam-powered extension had been added to the mill. Weaving had been introduced with 144 looms,⁵⁵ and there was a facility for the sizing (dressing) of warps to reduce the incidence of thread breaks and, conceivably, to contribute to the

⁴⁹. *Select Committee Evidence*, p. 118 (PP1816, III, p. 352). Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 84, on the basis of insurance archives, points out that William Sidgwick held stocks of cloth in Liverpool in 1812. This suggests that the minority of yarn output not sold to local manufacturers may have been woven on commission.

⁵⁰. *Select Committee Evidence*, pp. 119, 121 (PP1816, III, pp. 353, 355).

⁵¹. *Select Committee Evidence*, p. 119 (PP1816, III, p. 353).

⁵². Chapman, *Cotton Industry in Industrial Revolution*, p. 21.

⁵³. Catling, *Spinning Mule*, p. 54.

⁵⁴. *Select Committee Evidence*, p. 121 (PP1816, III, p. 355).

⁵⁵. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 94.

weight of the loom state fabric. Mule spinning had also been adopted to complement, rather than supersede, throstle spinning. The former was used to produce weft yarns and the latter to produce warp ('twist').⁵⁶ The clear distinction in the use of the two types of yarn suggests that spinning and weaving were integrated, and, if so, this would reflect a trend throughout the industry. As well as providing a guaranteed outlet for yarn, this arrangement enabled the producer to control and limit yarn stocks, thereby reducing working capital requirements and disruptive stock movements.

During the nineteenth century, the British cotton industry was strongly export-orientated, with a particular emphasis on the Indian market. This trade began to develop in a serious way between 1824 and 1826.⁵⁷ It cannot be categorically stated that the additional capacity at the High Mill was installed to cater for this market. However, it is of interest that the ability to produce woven fabrics with a coarse, throstle-spun warp, and a finer, mule-spun weft, together with the addition of a sizing facility, placed the Sidgwicks in a position where they could have produced the general purpose apparel fabric known as 'shirting', vast quantities of which were exported in the loom state to India throughout the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ At closure in 1890, Sidgwicks specialised in this product.⁵⁹

Little else is known about the commercial and technical operation of the High Mill during the remaining years of its life, except for what may be learned from passing references in the local newspapers. A search of the *Craven Pioneer* between 1861 and 1890 shows that there were minor fires in devil machines used in the opening and cleaning of raw cotton on at least two occasions, and a more serious fire in a scutcher used for the same purpose.⁶⁰ Occasional reference is made to carding and roving, and by 1865 self-acting mules were in use, as distinct from the earlier, power-assisted machines.⁶¹ If these were the frames which had been installed in 1825, the Sidgwicks would have been amongst the early adopters, in that self-actors did not become available until the 1820s.⁶² If they were replacements for less advanced machines, this does at least show a willingness to keep up-to-date. Winding and warping are carried out prior to weaving, and piece looking involves the inspection of loom state fabric. All of these activities are mentioned in the newspaper reports and announcements.⁶³ Although scattered and fragmentary, this evidence supports the view that both spinning and weaving continued at the High Mill until the end of its life.

5. EMPLOYMENT AT THE HIGH MILL

Terms and conditions at the High Mill during the early nineteenth century are well documented in the official reports which were referred to earlier. William Sidgwick's evidence to the Select Committee on the State of Child Employment in 1816 reveals a regime of long hours, disciplined by the availability of water to drive the mill wheel. Even so, it is convincing in its claim that conditions were tolerable, and much better than life without any employment. Furthermore, the young people engaged by the Sidgwicks are represented as willing participants in the system. This is corroborated by the memoirs of John Harrison, one of the founders of the Congregational Church in

⁵⁶ *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 61 (PP1834, xx, p. 459).

⁵⁷ *Lancashire Cotton Industry*, ed. Rose, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Watson, *Textile Design and Colour*, pp. 416–17.

⁵⁹ *Craven Herald*, 14 Mar. 1890.

⁶⁰ *Craven Pioneer*, 10 July 1875, 8 Nov. 1879, 18 Nov. 1882.

⁶¹ *Craven Pioneer*, 6 May 1865.

⁶² Timmins, *Four Centuries of Lancashire Cotton*, p. 24.

⁶³ *Craven Pioneer*, 9 Feb. 1861, 11 Jan. 1868, 25 Mar. 1876.

Skipton.⁶⁴ Harrison evidently worked at the High Mill as a young man shortly after it opened, and his memoirs state that although the working day extended from 6.00 am to 8.00 pm, he was quite amenable to working voluntarily during meal breaks to earn additional money.

In 1816 between 100 and 120 children were employed at the mill (William Sidgwick could not be more precise) and many were employed in spinning (as distinct from the preparatory processes). The work demanded constant patrolling of spindles to identify and repair broken threads, but involved very little physical labour. The children were reported to be in better health than those who had no employment. It was claimed that none of the children at the High Mill were affected by stunted growth or by rickets. This was attributed to features of the design of the factory buildings, and particularly to the use of high ceilings and the provision of good ventilation. Many children could read and some could write, and this was attributed to their attendance at Sunday schools. William Sidgwick made unfavourable comparisons with the domestic handloom weaving industry in Skipton, where conditions were felt to be unhealthy, far more so than in a well managed factory.⁶⁵

The minimum permitted age at which children might be employed in cotton factories was under active discussion at this time, and in 1815 Sir Robert Peel (the Elder) introduced a Parliamentary Bill which would have imposed a minimum age of ten years.⁶⁶ It was unsuccessful, but it was rumoured that in anticipation of its provisions, manufacturers in Craven, including William Sidgwick, had laid off a large number of children below the age of ten years. This was reported to the Select Committee by Robert Owen of New Lanark, a supporter of the Bill, who had himself built up a large and successful textile business without employing children younger than ten years old. Robert Owen based his claim on a visit to Skipton, during which he had met William Sidgwick's nephew. The allegation was hotly disputed by the latter, who denied that the issue had been discussed. All that had been stated was that the mill employed one child aged nine, all the others being older.⁶⁷

On the question of hours of work, in 1816 the mill operated for thirteen hours a day, from 5.00 am to 12.00 noon and from 1.00 pm to 7.00 pm, for six days a week, using a single shift of operatives. As well as the lunch break, it was usual for parents to take breakfast to their children between 7.30 am and 9.00 am, although the mill did not stop for the purpose.⁶⁸

William Sidgwick stated his opposition to any statutory reduction in the permitted number of working hours for young people, on the grounds that since they were paid in direct proportion to the hours worked, their parents would lose part of their income. Rather, he was a supporter of the principle that parents, not the law, should determine what was right for their children. He was also mindful of the increases in unit costs which would arise if fixed overheads were to be absorbed by a reduced output.⁶⁹ In the event, Parliament did not share his opinion, and the Factory Act of 1819 made it illegal for children of less than sixteen years of age to be employed in cotton factories for more than twelve hours per day. It also forbade the employment of children under the age of

⁶⁴. Dawson, *Independency in Skipton*, pp. 29–31.

⁶⁵. *Select Committee Evidence*, pp. 114, 116, 118, 120 (PP1816, III, pp. 348, 350, 352, 354).

⁶⁶. L. Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815–1870* (Oxford, 1962), p. 13.

⁶⁷. *Select Committee Evidence*, pp. 86, 113, 381, 382 (PP1816, III, pp. 320, 347, 617, 618).

⁶⁸. *Select Committee Evidence*, pp. 115–16 (PP1816, III, pp. 349–50).

⁶⁹. *Select Committee Evidence*, pp. 119–20 (PP1816, III, pp. 353–54).

nine years. However, enforcement was left to local magistrates, who were not especially diligent in carrying out this duty.⁷⁰

William Sidgwick also felt that there should be no attempt to specify the hours between which children would be allowed to work, essentially because of the unpredictability of the water supply in times of drought. Again, his views did not prevail for a great deal longer, and the Factory Act of 1831, as well as extending the twelve-hour limit to those under eighteen years of age, also banned night working for those under the age of twenty-one.⁷¹ However, apart from exceptional circumstances, this was unlikely to affect the Sidgwicks since the High Mill had not operated a night shift since the very earliest days. The system was soon abandoned to give the opportunity to replenish the mill dam overnight. According to William Sidgwick, few mills in Craven sustained a night shift, mainly because of the inadequacy of the water supply.⁷²

Under the Factory Act of 1833, protection of young people was taken further by limiting the maximum number of working hours to nine per day and forty-eight per week for those under thirteen years of age. In addition, children of this age were required to attend school for a minimum of two hours per day. A certificate from a surgeon was required to confirm both age and capacity for work before a child could be taken on. The measures were to be enforced by a Government inspector.⁷³ William Sidgwick had died in 1827 and this was therefore the legislative framework to which his sons had to respond. The relevant provisions are reflected in the returns to the FIC made by John Benson Sidgwick in 1834.

Of these measures, the one concerned with education was already accommodated to some extent in that William Sidgwick's son, Christopher, had established a private night school for employees in a house near the mill.⁷⁴ This was opened in 1821. In due course, it became too small and in about 1840 purpose-built premises were erected in Water Street (next to the Commercial Inn and now used by a restaurant) (NGR SD 988 518). It was later incorporated in the Croft School near Belmont Bridge and ultimately in Christ Church School. However, beyond that, accommodation in day schools was limited to what the National School and sundry private individuals could provide and it is possible that lack of school places restricted the employment of children under thirteen after 1833 until nonconformists became involved in educational provision during the 1840s.⁷⁵

J. B. Sidgwick's returns to the FIC in 1833 reveal a situation not radically different from eighteen years earlier, except that the working day and the working week were both a little shorter. Specifically, the mill ran for twelve hours each day for five days a week, and for eight and a half hours on Saturdays. Work commenced at 7.00 am and there was a one-hour meal break at midday.⁷⁶ There were now 264 operatives in total with an age and gender distribution as shown in Table 2.

No children under the age of nine years were employed, and only one employee was of this age. Although a sizeable minority was aged thirteen or less, most were fourteen or older.⁷⁷ Bearing in mind the provisions of the 1833 Factory Act, this is not surprising. However, J. B. Sidgwick stated that because of reduced profit margins, due in part to

⁷⁰ A. Booker, L. Willis, J. McHugh and M. Winstanley, 'Child Slaves? Working Children during the Industrial Revolution c. 1780-1850', in *Working Children in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, ed. M. Winstanley (Preston, 1995), p. 33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

⁷² *Select Committee Evidence*, p. 115 (PP1816, III, p. 349).

⁷³ Booker, *et al.* in *Working Children in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 34.

⁷⁴ *Craven Pioneer*, 13 Oct. 1877.

⁷⁵ J. Foster, *Elementary Education in Nineteenth Century Skipton* (Long Preston, Skipton, 1976), pp. 21-22.

⁷⁶ *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 62 (PP1834, XX, p. 460).

⁷⁷ *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 313 (PP1834, XX, p. 1041).

TABLE 2: Employment at the High Mill in 1834

Ages	Male	Female	Total
Less than 10	—	1	1
10 to 11	8	17	25
12 to 13	25	24	49
14 to 15	20	25	45
16 to 17	11	23	34
18 to 20	9	23	32
21 and over	32	46	78
TOTAL	105	159	264

reductions in working hours, and also because of the deskilling of jobs due to improved machines, there had been a tendency for the proportion of young people to increase.⁷⁸

In 1816, all operatives were paid on time rates rather than piece rates. The reasons were not stated but it is possible that the practice reflected a preoccupation with maintaining high standards of quality. Alternatively, rigid discipline in the workplace may have rendered piece rates unnecessary. By 1833, the situation had changed, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3: Distribution of operatives by payment system at the High Mill in 1834

	Male	Female	Total
Piece Rate	18	65	83
Time Rate	87	94	181
TOTAL	105	159	264

A significant number of operatives, mainly females, were paid on piece rates, and the statistical return also shows that those paid in this way received higher wages.⁷⁹ Whether this was the result of an inherent incentive, or whether it was process and/or skill related, is not clear.

Holidays were given on Christmas Day, Good Friday, two days at Whitsuntide, and two further days, normally at Martinmas in early November. No holiday pay was awarded.⁸⁰

J. B. Sidgwick also reported on the maintenance of discipline in the mill and indicated that a system of fines for lateness existed. Corporal punishment was also used as necessary, ostensibly to avoid dismissal and the damage which that would do to the welfare of the child and its parents. Few other mills in the FIC survey admitted to this practice. Welfare arrangements were touched upon, and assurance was given that the employer paid for a surgeon to attend to operatives injured at work and, sometimes, in the event of sickness unrelated to employment.⁸¹

J. B. Sidgwick, like his father, was opposed to further statutory restrictions on the employment of young people. However, the inevitable process of reform continued.

^{78.} *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 62 (PP1834, xx, p. 460).

^{79.} *FIC Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 313 (PP1834, xx, p. 1041).

^{80.} *Ibid.*

^{81.} *FIC, Supplementary Report*, C.1, p. 62 (PP1834, xx, p. 460).

The final evidence on terms and conditions at the High Mill comes from a report of the Inspector of Factories for 1849, in which there is a preoccupation with the working of cotton mills by relays of women and young people. This practice was an abuse of provisions contained in the Factory Act of 1847, under which the employment of women and young people was limited to ten hours per day. The use of relays involved ten hours of work, but not on a continuous basis. This enabled the employer to operate the mill for more than ten hours and required relays of operatives to be available for more than ten hours. Although it was an abuse of the act, because of ambiguity within the legislation this practice was not a clear infringement, and the courts were not prepared to take action, even though the Factory Inspectorate became increasingly angry. The 1849 report identifies the Sidgwicks as using relays, although they stated their opposition and explained that their use of the system was the consequence of its wholesale use by their competitors.⁸²

Both in the evidence to the Select Committee and in the returns to the FIC, the Sidgwicks are represented as managing their business by the rules of economic rationality, and, at first sight, their concern for their employees does not seem to extend very far. However, they were no worse than many others in the district, and as a family their contribution to the welfare of the working classes in Skipton during the first half of the nineteenth century was second to none, as will be noted subsequently. Even in the workplace, their claim to be acting in the best interests of the young people they employed seems to be corroborated by John Harrison's memoirs. However, the best defence is to ask what alternative opportunities were available, and it then appears that the Sidgwicks' employees were better off than many of their contemporaries.

It is important to realise that the national trends to which the Sidgwicks were responding in regard to the employment of children and young people in due course became the basis of legislative norms for all workers in the cotton industry. Accordingly, by 1874, adults and young people, men and women, worked a maximum of fifty-six and a half hours per week, with a universal half-holiday on Saturday. These were the conditions under which employees in all of Skipton's mills operated during the closing years of the nineteenth century.⁸³

6. THE LOW MILL

In 1839, fourteen years after the extension of the High Mill, the Sidgwicks established a new, steam-powered factory on the banks of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, about 200 metres east of Pinder Bridge. This was described on the 1850 Ordnance Survey as the New Mill, although it later became known as the Low Mill. In the 1870s the lane leading to the mill from Keighley Road was opened out to form Sackville Street, and by 1900 the Low Mill was at the nucleus of the extensive residential districts of Middletown and New Town. However, in 1839 this was a green-field site in an undeveloped part of the town.

The Low Mill was financed by the Sidgwick family with no assistance from the Skipton Castle estate, although the land was leased from the Castle estate for a period of sixty years, expiring on 12 May 1900.⁸⁴ While the term of the lease was comparable with that for the High Mill, a greater risk was involved because the Sidgwicks, not the Castle estate, paid for the construction of the mill. Evidently they were confident that the outlay

⁸². *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half-Year Ending 30th April 1849*, pp. 7, 14 (PP1849, XXII, pp. 289, 296).

⁸³. *Craven Pioneer*, 19 Dec. 1874, 26 Dec. 1874, 9 Jan. 1875.

⁸⁴. YAS, DD121/118/3.

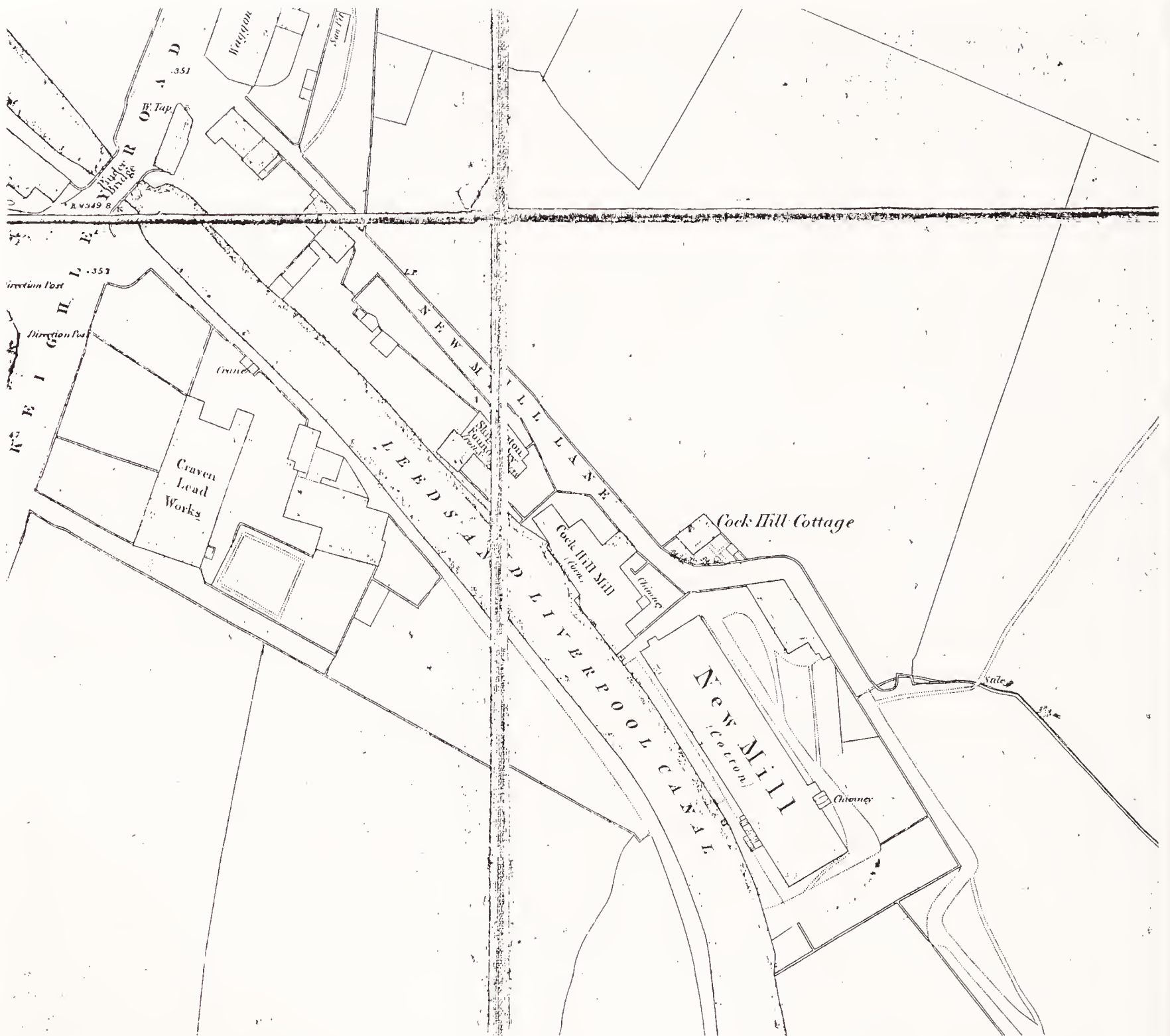


Fig. 4. The Low Mill (or New Mill) and its approaches, as represented on the 1850 Ordnance Survey, scale of 60 inches to the mile (1:1056). Here reduced to 59% of original size.

could be recovered within sixty years, or they may have been encouraged by the ease with which the lease of the High Mill had been extended in the past.

In the event, the lease was terminated in 1890, and the property was then adopted by C. A. Rickards of Bell Busk for the production of spun silk sewing threads.⁸⁵ It was destroyed by fire in 1908.⁸⁶ In 1914 Firth and Moorehouse built a large weaving mill on the site and this survived, latterly in alternative use, until 1995 when it was demolished to make way for a housing development, Sidgwick Court. The Low Mill was photographed extensively following the fire, but there seems to be very little photographic evidence from before this time. The post-fire photographs have often been published and they reveal a four-storey structure with thirteen bays. At the east end was an engine/boiler house and a square chimney. The engine house seems to be very large, and it is just

⁸⁵. *Craven Herald*, 27 June 1890.

⁸⁶. *Craven Herald*, 20 Nov. 1908, 27 Nov. 1908.

conceivable that there was a dye-house attached to produce yarns for coloured-woven shirtings.

The extract from the 1850 Ordnance Survey given in Figure 4 shows that on its approach to the mill, the lane leading to it turned sharply to the left and then to the right, resuming its course parallel to the canal and on an alignment corresponding to the later Sackville Street. This created an open enclosure in front of the mill. A comparison with other large-scale maps dating from 1860 and 1907 shows that several buildings were constructed around the perimeter of this enclosure, mainly between 1850 and 1860, although none of these was comparable in extent with the main mill. A fireproof cotton store is mentioned in 1871 in a press report of a small fire, and this may have been one of the peripheral buildings.⁸⁷

There is only fragmentary evidence so far as the operation of the Low Mill is concerned, and this is derived mainly from short newspaper reports and advertisements. The mill started up in 1840 and Dawson stated that it was used for both spinning and weaving.⁸⁸ No details of the original spinning capacity are available, but in 1883 there was an advertisement for a throstle overlooker which stated that there were 8400 spindles in place.⁸⁹ By comparison with practice in other local spinning mills, such as the one at Eastby,⁹⁰ this, along with the associated blowroom, carding, drawing and roving equipment, may well have been sufficient to keep the mill occupied. Contemporary advertisements refer also to warping, which is consistent with the business being run as an integrated concern.⁹¹

Single-storey weaving sheds with roofs designed to provide a north light were an established feature of cotton mills by 1840,⁹² but there is no evidence of such a structure at the Low Mill. However, their use was not universal, as may be demonstrated by King's Mill at Settle which, although rebuilt in 1837 after a disastrous fire, did not include any special arrangements for its weaving department.⁹³

7. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE BUSINESS AND SOME EXPLANATIONS FOR ITS CLOSURE

After the death of William Sidgwick in 1827, the High Mill was managed by John Benson Sidgwick. He was assisted by two of his brothers, first Christopher, who retired soon after, and then James, who retired in 1865. John Benson was also in charge of the Low Mill along with his youngest brother, Robert Hodgson Sidgwick (whose photograph appears in Figure 5). From 1865 both mills were managed by this partnership. After the death of John Benson in 1873 and Robert Hodgson in 1886, Charles Sidgwick, one of John Benson's sons, became the senior partner.⁹⁴ John Benson Sidgwick had a fourth brother, William, who took holy orders and became headmaster of Skipton Grammar School. He appears to have had no connection with the family business.

The business ceased trading in June 1890, and the *Craven Herald* attributed the event to the expiry of the lease on the High Mill.⁹⁵ This is surprising bearing in mind Table 1 (above), which shows that the lease had a further nine years to run. Furthermore, the

⁸⁷. *Craven Pioneer*, 14 Jan. 1871.

⁸⁸. Dawson, *History of Skipton*, p. 281.

⁸⁹. *Craven Herald*, 6 Oct. 1883.

⁹⁰. *Craven Pioneer*, 31 Aug. 1878.

⁹¹. *Craven Pioneer*, 4 Dec. 1875.

⁹². M. Williams and D. A. Farnie, *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester* (Preston, 1992), p. 41.

⁹³. J. Nelson, 'The Water Mills of Ribblesdale', *North Craven Heritage Trust Journal* (1994), p. 18.

⁹⁴. *Craven Herald*, 24 Jan. 1890.

⁹⁵. *Craven Herald*, 27 June 1890.

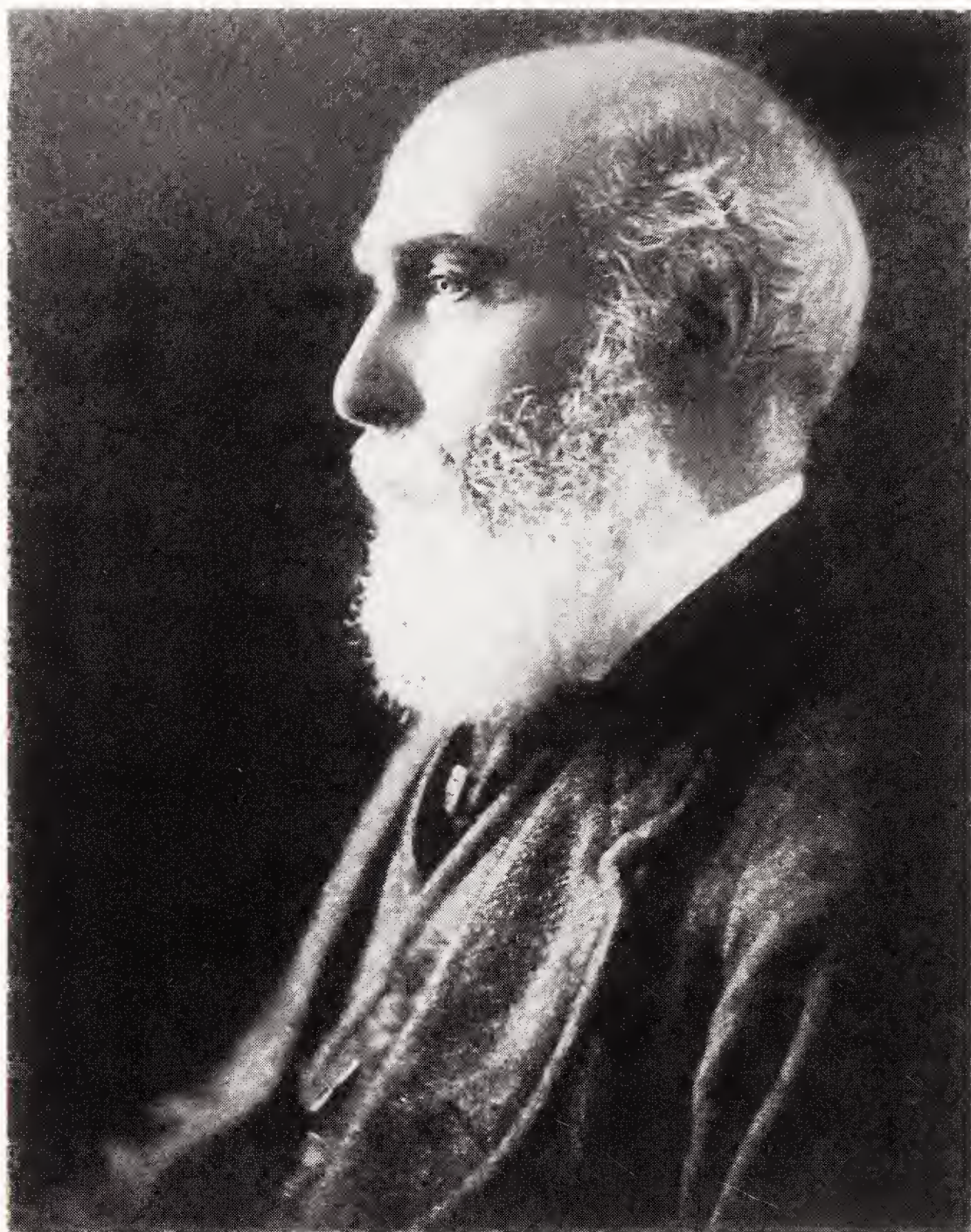


Fig. 5. Robert Hodgson Sidgwick.
Photograph by courtesy of Mrs
Valentine Rowley, Skipton.

lease on the site of the Low Mill had a further ten years to run and, indeed, as explained earlier, C. A. Rickards continued to work the mill until it was destroyed by fire in 1908.

These circumstances suggest that there were other factors affecting Charles Sidgwick's willingness or ability to continue as a textile producer. An obvious consideration is the state of trade. Although raw cotton consumption across the industry rose between 1885 and 1890, export demand fell back in 1889⁹⁶ and it is likely that trade in the speciality shirtings which the Sidgwicks produced was adversely affected.

As well as short-term cyclical influences, by the early 1880s there was already evidence of longer-term structural decline in the firm itself. Thus, in 1878 employment amounted to 320 operatives but by 1881 this had fallen to 238, even though, at industry level, output was expanding.⁹⁷ Investment in more productive machinery seems an unlikely explanation bearing in mind that throstles were in use at the Low Mill in 1883 (see above) and that these would not have been the preferred choice for new investment at this stage. It is more likely that the decline in employment was the result of organisational change and technical progress elsewhere in the British cotton industry.

Of particular importance is the growth of the large-scale, single process, spinning businesses which were then emerging in the conurbation to the north and east of

⁹⁶. R. Robson, *The Cotton Industry in Britain* (London, 1957), p. 332.

⁹⁷. *Craven Pioneer*, 25 May 1878 and Census Enumerator's Returns, 1881.

Manchester, and especially the so-called 'Oldham Limiteds'. Thus, while the Low Mill was running 8400 spindles in 1883, 50,000 to 100,000 spindles would have been typical for a new mill between 1870 and 1890, with corresponding benefits for unit costs.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the new spindles would have been significantly more productive than the old.

Against this background, it is unlikely that the Sidgwicks would have been able to produce yarn successfully on a competitive basis. This was also true of other small-scale spinners in Craven during this period. In fact, Roberts has shown that while in 1885, Barnoldswick, Earby, Gargrave, and Carleton between them had 302,000 spindles, by 1911 spinning had ceased in Barnoldswick and Earby, while Gargrave and Carleton together could only muster 103,000 spindles.⁹⁹ It would have been unusual if the Sidgwicks had not shared the experience of other local producers. Meanwhile, cotton fibre consumption in the industry at large was trending upwards.

At the same time, the cotton industry was responding to the organisational rigidities exposed by the American Civil War. After 1865 merchant converters, who bought up loom state fabric for dyeing, finishing and distribution, were exercising a strong influence over weavers and in particular were demanding variety and flexibility. Single process weavers, such as those which were then emerging in Skipton and in East Lancashire were well suited to respond to these trading conditions.¹⁰⁰ Integrated firms, however, were restricted to fabrics produced from their own limited range of yarn outputs. This issue may have been a further impediment for the Sidgwicks, and, if so, they were not alone.¹⁰¹ Whatever benefits vertical integration might have offered in terms of co-ordination of quality, minimisation of stock levels and security of yarn supply or by improving technical efficiency, are likely to have been outweighed by the inherent inflexibility of the system. Horizontal forms of organisation were, by now, considered to be the more suitable.¹⁰²

This raises the question of why the Sidgwicks did not diversify on the basis of one or the other of their existing technologies. This was the strategy adopted by the Dewhursts at Belle Vue Mills in Skipton when they applied their skill in yarn production to the manufacture of sewing threads after 1869. This new activity was carried on in parallel with conventional cotton spinning and weaving until 1897, when the firm was absorbed into the English Sewing Cotton Co, at which point sewing thread manufacture became the sole activity.¹⁰³ However, diversification involved the Dewhursts not only in the acquisition of additional technical and marketing skills, but also in substantial capital investment. That the Sidgwicks (and many others in Craven) were unwilling or unable to contemplate such a strategy is clear enough.

It is here appropriate to consider the issue of commitment along with the prioritisation of business and other activities. There is also the related question of management succession. When the business was founded, John Sidgwick and his son, William (Senior), appear to have been single-minded in their commitment. Of William's sons, only John Benson Sidgwick demonstrated a wholehearted commitment over a sustained period. This was recognised in his obituary where it was stated that 'he contented himself with

⁹⁸ A. Marrison, 'Indian Summer 1870-1914', in *The Lancashire Cotton Industry*, p. 241.

⁹⁹ D. Roberts, 'The Development of the Textile Industry in the West Craven and Skipton District of Yorkshire' (unpublished M.Sc. (Econ) thesis, London School of Economics, 1957), pp. 144-45.

¹⁰⁰ Jackson, *Yorks. Hist. Quarterly*, 4.1, 4.2.

¹⁰¹ Roberts, thesis, pp. 139-41.

¹⁰² R. Robson, *Cotton Industry in Britain*, pp. 103-13, considers alternative forms of organisation for cotton textile production.

¹⁰³ *Craven Herald*, 23 July 1897.

strict attention to business with leisure hours devoted to quiet and unassuming effort for the Church'.¹⁰⁴ In varying degrees, his brothers devoted a much greater proportion of their time to education, philanthropy, and local government, as well as to the Church, and this is amply confirmed by their own respective obituaries.¹⁰⁵ Christ Church in Skipton (NGR: SD 989 513) is a lasting testimony to Sidgwick philanthropy.

So far as the next generation is concerned, few members of the family appear to have shown interest in the business, although by the time they came of age, the prospects were not particularly encouraging. John Benson's fourth son, Charles, rose to prominence in the business after the death of his father while two of his brothers favoured the Church and the law for their careers. Little is known of John Benson's other two sons except that one of them died in Jamaica. Of his two daughters, both married clergymen.¹⁰⁶

Robert Hodgson Sidgwick's daughter, Ann Elizabeth, married Stephen Marshall of Leeds, whose family flax-spinning business was itself on the wane. One of her brothers, Alfred, became Professor of Logic at the then Victoria University in Manchester and another brother emigrated to India.¹⁰⁷

William Sidgwick (Junior) did not enter the business, while of his family, a son, Henry, became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge University and two other sons followed academic careers at Oxford University. William's daughter, Mary, married a second cousin, Edward White Benson, who became Bishop of Truro and then Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰⁸ There was little affinity with cotton textiles on this side of the family.

Finally, William Sidgwick (Senior)'s other two sons, Christopher and James, did not marry.

It is of interest that, with the exception of William Sidgwick (Junior), who died in 1840, the sons of William Sidgwick (Senior), along with Mrs J. B. Sidgwick, all died between 1873 and 1890. Of the manufacturing branch of the family, only Mrs R. H. Sidgwick survived longer, until 1909. The last surviving son was James, who died in January 1890.

After various bequests to individuals, James left over £15,000 to be distributed in equal shares between eleven nephews and nieces.¹⁰⁹ This was a considerable sum when it is considered, by way of illustration, that in 1914 Sackville Mill was built on the site of the Low Mill for only £9300.¹¹⁰ James Sidgwick lived in rented accommodation at Skipton Castle, and it is quite conceivable that his personalty consisted mainly of his share of the family business. With the exception of Charles Sidgwick, it is improbable that the beneficiaries of James's estate would have wished to maintain an involvement in a business in which they had shown little interest, and in which considerable investment was needed if it were to survive into the twentieth century. It is therefore not surprising that the business ceased to trade in June 1890.¹¹¹

^{104.} *Keighley News*, 24 May 1873. J. B. Sidgwick commanded the respect of Charlotte Brontë when, in 1839, she was employed by the family as a temporary governess. Mrs Sidgwick and the children made a less favourable impression. See J. Barker, *The Brontës* (London, 1994), pp. 309–12.

^{105.} *Craven Pioneer*, 13 Oct. 1877, 9 July 1886; *Craven Herald*, 24 Jan. 1890.

^{106.} YAS, MS1221/6, 'Pedigree of Sidgwick of Leeds, Bingley, Skipton and Keighley', compiled by Alexander W. D. Mitton of the College of Arms. This source covers the period 1675 to c. 1958. A line of descent from the *Sedgwicks* of Dentsdale is traced.

^{107.} *Craven Herald*, 24 Jan. 1890.

^{108.} Rowley, *Old Skipton*, p. 49.

^{109.} *Craven Herald*, 14 Mar. 1890.

^{110.} Final accounts for the construction of Sackville Mill, Skipton, dated 9 March 1915 (courtesy of Mr D. W. Mitchell, Guiseley).

^{111.} *Craven Herald*, 27 June 1890.

8. CONCLUSION

The life cycle of the Sidgwicks' business falls into four phases, each with distinct characteristics, although the boundaries between them are not clear-cut.

The years between 1785 and the end of the first lease in 1806 were a period of *formative growth*, a precondition for which was the support of the principal landowner. Thereafter, the skills needed to develop the business were provided by a partnership involving more than one family. Peter Garforth provided entrepreneurial skills gained in a range of business activities, while John Sidgwick contributed organisational and technical expertise. A new factory was favoured (rather than conversion of an existing building), recently available textile innovations were applied to build machinery in-house, and the resulting facilities were used to support entry to a rapidly expanding market.

A period of *adaptive growth* followed, during which substantial additions to capacity were made in parallel with numerous technical innovations. The aim was to underpin the strategic development of the business in terms of new products and new markets, together with enhanced quality and efficiency. This phase began in 1806/7 and probably ended on the death of J. B. Sidgwick in 1873. Throughout, the business was a truly family concern, dominated by the son, and then a grandson of the founder. Amongst the principal developments were the adoption of steam power, the diversification into weaving, and the opening of a second factory. It is likely that an export orientation also developed at this time.

After the death of J. B. Sidgwick, there were several years of *inertia and decline*, during which modernising trends in the industry at large were overlooked or ignored. In particular, there was a failure to seek economies of scale or specialisation in spinning, nothing was achieved by way of improving flexibility in weaving, and there is no evidence of investment in new buildings, plant and machinery. Failure to address these issues probably arose from the divided interests of J. B. Sidgwick's surviving brothers and the lack of interest shown by most of the fourth generation of the family, with the notable exception of Charles Sidgwick.

This phase led, inevitably to the *termination* of the business in 1890, metaphorically (but not literally) in accordance with the old adage, which prescribes three generations as the typical life span of a family textile business.

THE FIFTH EARL FITZWILLIAM'S INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES 1830–1857

By D. J. Gratton

The Fitzwilliam family can be traced back to the twelfth century, but it was the marriage of the third Earl Fitzwilliam (d. 1756) to Anne Watson-Wentworth, eldest sister of the second Marquis of Rockingham, and the subsequent inheritance in 1782 of most of the Rockingham estates in north and south Yorkshire and Ireland, which transformed the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam from a moderately well-off aristocrat into one of the twenty wealthiest men in the three kingdoms. Along with this wealth went the particular paternalist creed of the Rockingham Whigs, friendship with such men as Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox and an increased social round, especially anything involving horses. The fourth Earl's only child, Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam (1786–1857, Viscount Milton from his birth until he succeeded to the title of fifth Earl Fitzwilliam in 1833), grew up in the same paternalist Whig mould and cut his political teeth at the age of twenty-one when he beat the Earl of Harewood's interest into third place behind William Wilberforce and himself in the Yorkshire county election of 1807, remaining M.P. for Yorkshire for the next quarter-century.

The fifth Earl Fitzwilliam was in public life throughout his adulthood and greatly given over to his concept of public duty. An important part of many networks, he took the view that because he had been placed in his lofty social position by Providence and given certain prescriptive rights, he had a paternalistic duty to those below him, and especially those dependent upon him, in the wider society. Tied up with this was the importance of the maintenance of Whig principles whereby he and men like him must constantly be on guard, ensuring that Parliament should at all times check the otherwise overwhelming power of the Executive, and to this end practical politics had to be incorporated into all aspects of life including estate management at the local level. He saw becoming an M.P. as, in his case, not only a proper function for a member of society, but also a duty to be fulfilled, and he carried this through to his membership of the House of Lords. Benevolent to his tenants and managers, he was well-regarded by many and taken advantage of by a few. He adopted the new theories of political economy earlier than most of his peers, mounted a sustained attack on the Corn Laws in both Houses of Parliament and might otherwise have gone down the road of harsh economic practice, but he was bound by the trappings of the inheritance of paternalism and a sincere Christian faith, far wider-reaching than the intense sectarian attitudes of the day which he saw as divisive. The conflict between these ideologies was never fully resolved by Fitzwilliam, and his parliamentary speeches, which were based on theory, were always at odds with the practical methodology of running his estates.

The Fitzwilliam estates in the southern part of the West Riding of Yorkshire¹ were unique among Fitzwilliam lands in that, in addition to the usual agricultural development,

¹ The Fitzwilliams' house in this area was Wentworth Woodhouse at Wentworth near Rotherham. The other major Fitzwilliam estates were at Malton in the North Riding of Yorkshire, Milton in the East Midlands and in County Wicklow in Ireland.

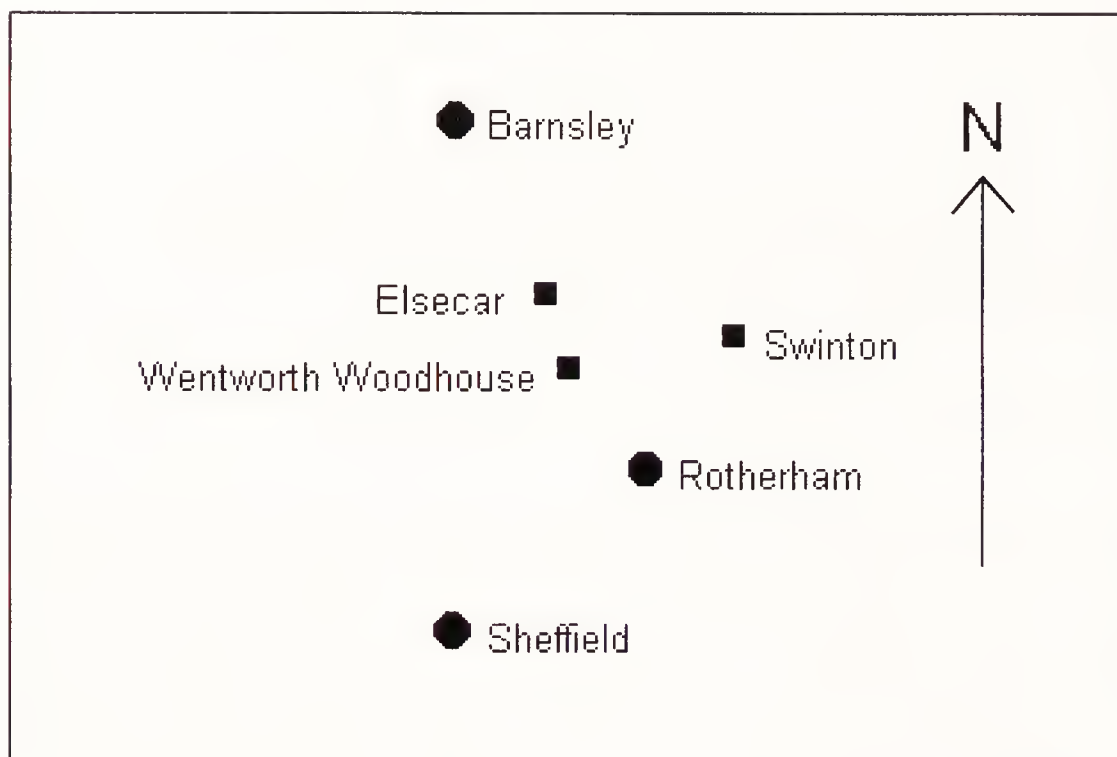


Fig. 1. South Yorkshire, showing the main places mentioned.

they were rich in supplies of coal and ironstone which supported a considerable amount of industry. The getting of coal to provide heat for industry and domestic consumption was an industry in itself, and its presence along with ironstone and nearby deposits of limestone provided the location factors necessary for an iron-making industry on the Fitzwilliam estates. Until the end of the eighteenth century these raw materials for the most part were used locally, but by 1830 the canalisation of the river Don (to Sheffield in 1819) and the construction of the Stainforth and Keadby Canal and the Dearne and Dove Canal (authorised between 1793 and 1800) had opened up South Yorkshire coal to markets further afield and Fitzwilliam coal was supplied to the London market. As the railways spread, improved techniques of production, increased demand and more efficient transportation led to a further growth of coal mines and ironworks in size as well as in capital and labour requirements.² New developments in science, technology and mechanical engineering were always of interest to the fifth Earl and he required full details of these from his agents. Here, unlike the Fitzwilliam estates at Malton and in Ireland,³ Fitzwilliam had no single agent in direct control of every facet of the undertaking, but employed various men who acted as agents or managers over particular sections of the enterprise: William Newman collected the agricultural rents and dealt with matters to do with land and the law; the Birams (Joshua and Benjamin, father and son) were in charge of the coal mines and the household management of Wentworth Woodhouse; Hartop ran the ironworks for a time (unsuccessfully, as we shall see); Maude was the auditor; Brameld ran the famous but ill-fated Rockingham pottery. In addition to these, other agents and agencies were used from time to time. All felt free to offer advice to

² B. E. Coates, 'The Geography of the Industrialization and Urbanization of South Yorkshire 18th Century to 20th Century', in *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire*, ed. Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (South Yorkshire County Council, 1976), pp. 17–18.

³ For the management of these agricultural estates see: D. J. Gratton, 'Paternalism, Politics and Estate Management: The Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam 1786–1857' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 1999). Chapter 5, 'The Estate Agent: Malton' has been published in North Yorkshire County Records Office's *Review* 1999.

Fitzwilliam on the operation of his enterprises, and some of the advice trespassed on the remit of one or other of their fellow managers.⁴

COAL

The fifth Earl Fitzwilliam was one of a number of aristocrats who found mining the coal deposits under their land to be a lucrative enterprise.⁵ He was also only one of a number of coal owners who sank pits in the area of the thick seam of coal known as the Barnsley Bed. His interest in the applied science and mechanisation of the process is evident, although it is in keeping with his fascination with scientific matters generally. In the 1830s, collieries had only limited mechanisation and relied on man-power and horse-power to a large extent to hew the coal and transport it to the surface, although windup engines were considered in some cases.⁶ Where geology allowed, the colliery entrance was positioned close to and slightly above the level of a canal, and this facilitated transport as the coal was loaded into wagons which were allowed to run down a railway to the canal by gravity. As the line of full wagons descended it pulled up a line of empty wagons to the mine entrance for them to be loaded in turn and repeat the process. The positioning of these railways and the degree of incline was a matter of some skill and not a little experimentation: if the incline was insufficient the wagons would not move; if it was too great they would run down too fast and cause damage. Benjamin Biram corresponded with experts in this field and a letter from James Porter suggested that a descent of nine-sixteenths of an inch for every yard of fall would work with six 30 cwt wagons, provided the road was well-laid and the wagons fitted with case-hardened axles. However, Porter was about to carry out an experiment on a plane of 300 yards with a fall of half an inch to each yard and one inch per yard at the top to give the wagons a greater impetus when starting, and he suggested that Biram waited until this was complete.⁷ The construction of the wagons, the method of casting their wheels and the amount and type of iron in the rails on which they were to run were also matters which exercised Biram. This is not surprising in itself as he was overseer of the Fitzwilliam collieries, but the detail he went into when writing to Viscount Milton (who ran the Fitzwilliam estates on his father's behalf during the fourth Earl's old age) and the way in which he had to give fuller details in later letters suggests that Milton was taking a great interest in the matter and that the final decision rested with him.⁸ As the Fitzwilliam family provided the capital, Milton

⁴ This article is based on the correspondence of the fifth Earl as held in Sheffield City Archives, whose staff I would like to thank for giving me access to the material in the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments. For permission to use these I have to make acknowledgement to The Trustees of the Rt Hon. Olive Countess Fitzwilliam's Chattels Settlement and the Head of Leisure Services of Sheffield City Council. The article complements the work on the social and economic aspects of the South Yorkshire area by L. G. Mee, 'The Earls Fitzwilliam and the Management of the Collieries and other Industrial Enterprises on the Wentworth Estate 1795-1857' (Ph.D. thesis, Nottingham University, 1972), published as Graham Mee, *Aristocratic Enterprise: The Fitzwilliam Undertakings 1795-1857* (Glasgow and London, 1975), and P. J. Nunn, 'The Management of some South Yorkshire Landed Estates in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries linked with the Central Economic Development of the Area (1700-1850)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 1985), who made mainly social and economic studies of the area over a longer period. My research differs in that it looks at one man's attitudes and activities over a wide range of estates and incorporates politics, religion and political economy. Ian R. Medlicott, 'The Development of Coal Mining on the Norfolk and Rockingham-Fitzwilliam Estates in South Yorkshire, 1750-1830', *YAJ*, 59 (1987), pp. 103-18, which is mainly concerned with the period before that considered here, has useful maps.

⁵ See David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, (Harmondsworth, 1995), p. 15 for a comprehensive list of those aristocrats who had large coal deposits on their estates.

⁶ Joshua Biram to Milton, 21 February 1831, Sheffield City Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (hereafter cited as WWM), G40/6.

⁷ James Porter to Ben Biram, 18 March 1831, WWM G40/16.

⁸ Correspondence Birams to Milton, 1830-31, WWM G40 passim.



Fig. 2. Reduced from the Ordnance Survey, Sheet 283, scale 6 inches to one mile. 1855.

also had to weigh the cost and possible benefits of each enterprise and his agent had therefore to wait until that decision was made. Milton had already concerned himself to the extent of stopping work on a railway to be built from the Swallowwood Colliery pending the resolution of technical matters.⁹ As work had already started, this caused problems for the agent who wanted to hurry the process along: ‘Benjamin desires his duty to your Lordship wishing to know if your Lordship has determined on the plan for the railroad and the wheels for Swallowwood Colliery’,¹⁰ was about as far as Joshua Biram could go in asking Milton for a speedy answer.

TABLE 1: Cost of transporting a cargo of 100 tons of coal from South Yorkshire to London*

Cash price at the pit	100 tons at 4s.	£20 0s. 0d.
Freight and dues to Headby with agency and shipment	100 tons at 3s. 6d.	£17 10s. 0d.
Freight from Headby to London	100 tons at 8s.	£42 0s. 0d.
Dues paid in London viz. entry fees, stamps, commission, guarantees, dues		£11 10s. 6d.
Extra law and other expenses incurred in getting this cargo out of the hands of Gibbons and Co.		£3 3s. 0d.
Total		£94 3s. 6d.

* Ben Biram to Milton 26 December 1832. Sheffield WWM G40/46. Legal costs are peculiar to this transaction.

By 1832 the Fitzwilliam coal supplied a large market, and the London market in particular was sought as a potentially lucrative outlet. The supply to London increased from 11,815 tons in October 1831 to 202,443 tons in October 1832.¹¹ This market was considered so valuable that the coal supplied to it when prices were low was sometimes sold at a loss to keep the trade moving so that the name of the Fitzwilliam coal would be foremost in the marketplace when prices picked up. The name of the coal was also changed to prevent this problem occurring with coals which were no longer supplied, and Ben Biram suggested that ‘Swallowwood Main’ had appeared for so long in the London lists without any coal coming from there that it had fallen into disrepute. Biram suggested various names, but favoured ‘Wentworth’ or ‘Wentworth Park Coal’ as it would ‘correctly describe their locality and be also an allusion to the name of the noble proprietor’.¹² In the event, Milton decided upon the name of ‘Strafford’ for the Swallowwood coal and the move seems to have worked as the demand proved quite equal to the quantity drawn at the time.¹³ The downturn in the market at the end of 1832 resulted in Biram’s advice to continue a small supply to the London market ‘even if the above prices do not pay the pit price’, a suggestion to which Milton agreed. The high cost of freight exacerbated the fall in price of coal, and a cargo of Strafford Main coal on the *Three Brothers*, one of the sloops which traded regularly between Sheffield and London, was sold for £2 15s. 2d. less than the pit price and another cargo on the brig, the *Snipe*, was sold at a loss of £7 11s. 6d.¹⁴ Expenses on the *Snipe*’s cargo are shown in Table 1 and give an indication of the costs of transporting coal in the 1830s.¹⁵ As the coal was

⁹. Joshua Biram to Milton, 12 March 1831, WWM G40/10.
¹⁰. Joshua Biram to Milton, 21 February 1831, WWM G40/6.
¹¹. Ben Biram to Milton, 3 November 1832, WWM G40/38.
¹². Ben Biram to Milton, 3 November 1832, WWM G40/38.
¹³. Ben Biram to Milton, 13 November 1832, WWM G40/39.
¹⁴. Ben Biram to Milton, 15 and 26 November 1832, WWM G40/45 and /46.
¹⁵. Ben Biram to Milton, 26 November 1832, WWM G40/46.

then sold at 16s. 6d. per ton, making a total of £86 12s. 0d., the loss on the cargo amounted to £7 11s. 6d. overall and it would still have been sold at a loss had the unusual legal expenses not been incurred.

The case of the Fitzwilliam estate's involvement with Gibbons and Co. highlights the risks which the Fitzwilliams ran in exporting the coal into a busy market which was remote from their lands and in which there were many dishonest operators. It also highlights the usefulness of having an astute agent who could recognise the danger signs and act quickly to minimise their losses. Gibbons and Co. took delivery of a supply of coal, but, instead of paying by bank post bill as agreed, they sent a two months' bill for £57, a £5 bank note and a post office order, making altogether £62 18s. 3d. which was 9s. 6d. over the amount as interest on the two months' bill. Ben Biram immediately made enquiries which suggested that Gibbons and Co. were not satisfactory. As they had not remitted a post bill as agreed upon, Biram suggested that Milton should require some reference in London and should only continue the supply of coal if that was satisfactory.¹⁶ It soon transpired that the £57 bill was valueless and that Gibbons and Co. were swindlers.¹⁷ The *Snipe* had already reached London with the second delivery of coal and about 30 tons had been transferred to a lighter before they were found out by a man who had been engaged to look out for the brig. The fraudulent intention was evident because no dues were paid at the City and no entries were passed at the Custom House prior to unloading. The men were required to reload the coal, and the Fitzwilliam agents were able to recover sufficient paperwork to enable them to sell the coal, albeit at a loss.¹⁸ Cookney (the solicitor employed to deal with the legal matters in London) passed on counsel's opinion that no action could be taken on the £57 bill until it became due, although Cookney himself thought the lighterman deserved punishment as he was probably in conspiracy with Gibbons and Co.¹⁹ If the bill was dishonoured, as was likely, the Fitzwilliams had entirely lost one cargo of coal and made a loss on a second, but the situation could have been worse. Had Biram not promptly realised the danger of changing the terms of payment from immediate payment to two months, and taken immediate action, a series of consignments of coal would have been lost to a firm of cheats.

The price of coal fluctuated not only according to demand and supply but also according to the type of coal supplied. Hard coal, which gives out more heat during burning, could be sold at a higher price than soft coal. The problem was in finding an easy way of separating the two. In 1832 the Sheffield Canal Coal Co. offered 5s. 6d. per ton for hard New Park Gate coal,²⁰ but Ben Biram had to advise Milton that his plan for separating hard and soft coal at the Parkgate Colliery had 'quite disappointed in its execution'.²¹ The sorting of coal produced a larger income, especially if a lucrative contract, such as the Admiralty, could be obtained. An attempt in 1855 to have *all* coal from the Barnsley 10-foot bed placed on the Admiralty list on the grounds that the bed already provided *some* of the Admiralty's coal, resulted in the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty's reply that they,

adverting to the fact that a very great difference in quality is frequently found to exist in the same seam of coal, cannot consent to admit as a principle that because they have placed on their list the production of one pit, all other pits on that seam should enjoy the same privilege.²²

¹⁶. Ben Biram to Milton, 13 November 1832, WWM G40/39.

¹⁷. Ben Biram to Milton, 23 November 1832, WWM G40/41.

¹⁸. Ben Biram to Milton, 15 December 1832, WWM G40/45.

¹⁹. C. Cookney to Milton and Biram, 13 December 1832, WWM G51/3.

²⁰. Biram to Milton, 13 November 1832, WWM G40/39.

²¹. Biram to Milton, 1 December 1832, WWM G40/43.

²². Admiralty to Fitzwilliam and others, 15 October 1855, WWM G43/4.

Finally they agreed to allow Biram to send 10 tons of Elsecar hard coals to Woolwich dock for trial 'at your own expense'.²³

The prices in the coal trade could also depend on the behaviour of competitors. In early 1833 the Marquis of Londonderry and Lord Durham, coal magnates in the North-East of England, made a large reduction in the price of their coal (4*s.* per ton at the pit mouth) in an already depressed market, a severe blow to the coal trade in South Yorkshire which resulted in stagnation of the trade.²⁴ Biram suggested that he should introduce Fitzwilliam coal into fresh markets by making a sacrifice in the first instance and received a report from Messrs Burstall that there were parties in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent who were willing to try Fitzwilliam coals in the spring.²⁵ Fitzwilliam's response was to instruct Biram to send a boat-load of coal to London, which Biram was unable to attend to immediately as there were no boats for several days.²⁶ One of the methods in which costs could be reduced between the coal producers and their markets was by a reduction in freight costs and it was suggested to Fitzwilliam by one of his neighbours that they might join together in requesting the committee of the Sheffield Canal Co. to reduce their dues from 9½*d.* per ton to 1*s.* 6*d.* per wagon of three tons.²⁷ By 1836 the trade had picked up considerably and there were many vessels awaiting loading at the Parkgate Colliery. Biram thought there was 'almost a scarcity of coal [in Sheffield] all the coal yards being completely empty', and this not due to diminished supply. Even so, the sale of soft coal from Elsecar was too slow and Biram thought it advisable to drop the price from 4*s.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* per ton.²⁸ This slowness in the sale of soft coal was general in the area and a few months later a meeting of local coal owners unanimously resolved to raise the price of hard coal by 9*d.* per ton from 1 July 1836 to improve the sale of softs by inducing people to substitute them for hards, especially where they had been in the habit of using them for house fires.²⁹

This type of combination to affect prices in a market was not unusual, but could be seen as working against Free Trade, the economic doctrine which was making considerable headway in the 1830s and to which Fitzwilliam himself subscribed to a large extent. In April 1839 a company called the Anti-Coal Monopoly Company (whose name and purpose might have owed something to the recently-formed Anti-Corn Law League) was in the process of formation in London, its objective being to do away with the large profits of the coal factors, who had the monopoly of the London trade and kept the prices high, and to abolish certain restrictions on the coal trade, all of which would have the effect of reducing the price to the London consumer by 6*s.* or 7*s.* per ton.³⁰

The South Yorkshire coal owners were not always in a strong position insofar as they were not a closely-knit group and, as a result, they were open to attack by a large operator who could divide and conquer. Such an operator was the Great Northern Railway (GNR) which in 1855 removed its wagons from Fitzwilliam's collieries because it could get coal at more advantageous prices from neighbouring collieries. On 30 March 1855 Seymour Clarke of the GNR's General Manager's Office wrote to Biram and other coal owners or their agents asking for a reduction in price for the summer months. Biram's reply that he would continue to supply at 'present prices' (7*s.* hards; 6*s.* softs) was met by a reply

²³. Admiralty to Biram, 14 December 1855, WWM G43/8.

²⁴. Biram to Milton, 4 February 1833, WWM G40/53.

²⁵. S. F. & G. Burstall to Biram, 8 February 1833, WWM G40/55.

²⁶. Biram to Fitzwilliam, 18 March 1833, WWM G40/58. Biram was acknowledging Fitzwilliam's letter.

²⁷. R. J. Chambers to Fitzwilliam, 15 July 1833, WWM G40/63.

²⁸. Biram to Fitzwilliam, 29 February 1836, WWM G40/87.

²⁹. Biram to Fitzwilliam, 18 June 1836, WWM G40/97.

³⁰. Biram to Fitzwilliam, 5 April 1839, WWM G40/112.

from Clarke that he had quotations from others varying from 5*s.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* softs and 5*s.* 3*d.* to 6*s.* hards and that he was withdrawing the GNR's wagons from Elsecar. The coal owners' association voted not to reduce their prices in view of the GNR's request, but they feared that others outside the association might have offered lower prices for the summer. The association feared that if they allowed low summer prices the GNR would purchase largely at the low price and stock up beforehand for the early part of the winter. The colliers would be kept fully employed at the pits during hay-time and harvest and only partially so afterwards when they could get no other work. There was also the problem that if prices were not reduced to the GNR the soft coals would accumulate; yet if they were lowered every member of the association would complain about the reduced financial return. Biram had hoped that a reduction of 9*d.* per ton over the summer might be made by general consent as a way forward, but John Twibell, the association's chairman, thought it would not be agreed by the membership.³¹ Efforts were made to introduce a sliding scale as a compromise, but this was rejected. Newman made it clear that 'Lord Fitzwilliam, being desirous to keep good faith with his neighbours, does not feel himself at liberty to make that reduction unless it be agreed to by all'.³² Even in July 1855 the coal owners stated their conviction that the GNR would give way and opposed the sliding scale, but by that time cracks in their united front had begun to appear: 'The present secession of Messrs Thorpe and Messrs Hall and Stones is considered a breach of faith and is now the subject of strong remonstrance'.³³ In August the coal owners capitulated and at a meeting with the GNR's South Yorkshire directors and Seymour Clarke on one side and the coal owners on the other, a sliding scale as proposed by the GNR was agreed. Wagons were sent for Elsecar coals almost immediately.³⁴

Why should Fitzwilliam, who upheld to a large extent the idea of Free Trade, be so involved with a local combination that he would not leave it when it was in his best interests to do so and when he could so easily have justified his action on the basis of economic doctrine? My research into Fitzwilliam's management of his other estates has shown that his adherence to political economy was tempered by paternalism to the extent that when the two came into conflict it was usually paternalism which won. The colliers, who would be in full employment at a time when there was plenty of other work and on shorter hours when there was only mining to be done, would have his sympathy in this regard as he believed he had to consider their interest along with his own. In his philosophy the interests of the majority of those below him in the social order (which meant almost all the nation, as only the marquises, dukes and royal family were above him) were identical with his own interests. Also, the unwillingness to desert his fellow coal owners, who were to some extent his rivals in South Yorkshire, shows some degree of *noblesse oblige*: one of the foremost aristocrats in the area standing up for the welfare of his local community even to his own detriment. The GNR and its application of commercial pressure on the local coal owners might prove too strong for the coal owners' association, but many of the association's members had to face the harsh world of economic reality. The Whig nobleman had income from other sources and could afford to indulge his paternalist inclinations.

The degree of paternalism shown to industrial workers on the Fitzwilliam estates did have its limitations, although a refusal of the colliers to go back to work following repairs

³¹. Newman to Fitzwilliam, 5 May 1855, WWM G49/108.

³². Copy letter Newman to Robert Baxter, undated, WWM G49/111.

³³. Newman to Fitzwilliam, 31 July 1855, WWM G49/114.

³⁴. Newman to Fitzwilliam, 20 August 1855, WWM G49/115.

at the Elsecar pit resulted in Joshua Biram sending them home. Biram claimed to be using a psychological approach:³⁵

There were several boats in the bason [*sic*] and the boatmen had tried to persuade the colliers to get coals and have them loaded, but could not succeed, and they, the boatmen, complained to me, but I gave them no encouragement, which had the effect of the colliers thinking for themselves and quietly getting to their work on Thursday.

But Biram also used example as a way of making the colliers conform to his wishes. He had not had one complaint from the Elsecar miners since he had ordered John Oxley to be discharged and he hoped that 'the lesson they have already will cause them to consider well before they make any further attempts in the same way'.³⁶ On the other hand, the agent could be less harsh in his approach than Milton himself, as when Ben Biram wrote that he was sorry to hear that Milton had dismissed Thomas Cooper from his employment at Elsecar. Biram believed Cooper to be a steady and industrious young man, 'though doubtless at fault in the present instance', and he hoped that Milton would return Cooper after a suitable time and that the punishment was of advantage to him.³⁷

Industrial workers were more inclined to refuse to work than their agricultural counterparts and could not expect such a high degree of tolerance as a result. A strike occurred at Elsecar Old Colliery because the colliers did not like being paid the price for slack for coals which fell through a screen over which all coal for Messrs Grahams (who ran the Milton ironworks) was passed. Biram thought the colliers should be resisted, especially as there was a stoppage on the canal at the time which prevented coal going to market. Biram also suggested that if they did not return to work it would not be proper to give notice to quit to those who had houses because they were under agreement to leave their houses as soon as they should refuse or cease to work at the colliery.³⁸ The situation was resolved very soon afterwards as the colliers saw 'the error of their ways', no doubt under threat of having to quit their homes, and turned up for work on Thursday, but were unable to do so as Biram had taken the opportunity of repairing the engine and this would not be available for use until Monday.³⁹ It was another lesson the colliers had to learn, and demonstrates the negative side of paternalism.

Colliers' wages ranged widely from those who hewed the coal and were paid 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per load (6 or 7 tons) and the trammers at 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per day, to the boys who were paid between 10*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* per day.⁴⁰ The managers' wages could be the basis for squabbling over differentials: 'John Winter does not seem inclined to take the management of the Rainber Park Colliery at his present wages, but will do it if your Lordship desires it'. There was a knock-on problem if Winter's wages were increased: 'William Deakin had 27*s.* per week for the same work, John Winter has 24*s.*, but if Winter's wages are advanced, Joshua Cooper thinks his ought to be'.⁴¹ An example of the size of the undertaking in man- and horse-power is given in an account of just one Fitzwilliam colliery: twenty-four labourers, hangers-on, loadeners and unloadeners, horse drivers and horse-keeper; nine blacksmiths; five carpenters; three working the machinery; eighteen

³⁵. Joshua Biram to Milton, 21 February 1831, WWM G40/6.

³⁶. Joshua Biram to Milton, 3 May 1831, WWM G40/8.

³⁷. Ben Biram to Milton, 5 April 1832, WWM G40/33.

³⁸. Ben Biram to Fitzwilliam, 13 April 1838, WWM G40/92.

³⁹. Ben Biram to Fitzwilliam, 15 April 1838, WWM G40/93.

⁴⁰. Account of those employed at the Elsecar collieries. Signed by William Goodinson and undated, probably about 1841, WWM G42/2.

⁴¹. Ben Biram to Milton, 13 November 1832, WWM G40/39.

horses for hurrying in the pit, driving the ginn and drawing on the railway.⁴² These numbers of the men and boys were multiplied over several pits and, added to the other industrial enterprises, show the great size of the industrial undertaking on Fitzwilliam lands and the large number of families dependent on it.

The state of the coal trade could affect the amount of the colliers' wages and jobs as those who hewed the coal were paid by the quantity produced, and if they were not required to get coal they were put on reduced working and therefore reduced wages. The other men were paid by the day and the cost of Fitzwilliam's overheads remained high when the market was depressed. In 1833 it was decided that the number of colliers should be reduced. Fitzwilliam himself ordered some reductions.⁴³ Biram thought that the number of hands at the colliery could be beneficially diminished and 'that those who remained could earn better wages at a reduced price by being enabled to send more coal'. He gave the men 'notice of sundry reductions' intended to take place at the month's end and gave notice to leave to ten of the younger men at Elsecar. He made similar reductions at Parkgate by dismissing some of those more recently engaged and by allowing the remainder to get a greater quantity of coal. The effect was to reduce colliery expenses and to allow those who remained to make more wages. This does not seem consistent with the paternalist approach and one could have expected Fitzwilliam and Biram to keep the men on until there was an upturn in trade. However, Biram gave an account which shows that it was the paternalist policy itself which had brought about the situation which required the reduction in manpower.⁴⁴

The number of hands at the collieries have a constant tendency to increase. Little boys are engaged at low wages to attend the horses and shut air-doors and, as they grow older, they are appointed to more important posts. All have the notion that if they behave properly at your Lordship's collieries their employment is for life. The collieries have become overstocked with young men, and if it be found necessary to dismiss any of them, those upon whom the lot may fall think their case one of especial hardship.

Biram warned Fitzwilliam that he could expect numerous petitions from those discharged, and said that he (Biram) would have to guard against any semblance of favouritism. Shortly after these events it was suspected that a fire (discovered at the New Parkgate Colliery on 3 July 1833) was the result of arson. The place where the fire occurred was where no person was working or needed to pass and it was unaccountable how it originated unless, as was supposed, some person fired it wilfully.⁴⁵ As no water could be brought to the fire they stopped the passages to try to prevent air getting to it, but it had not been extinguished two weeks later.⁴⁶

One of the aspects of mining at this time was that the colliers were at greater risk and tragedies often occurred. John Lee, one of the Swallowwood colliers, was killed by fire-damp and left a widow and six children.⁴⁷ Worse were the explosions which killed many men. An explosion at the Oaks Colliery in 1847 killed seventy-three; another at Darley Main in 1849 killed seventy-five. Newman was aghast at the scale and frequency of these explosions and wrote to Fitzwilliam with recommendations for the improvement of safety in the mines which he hoped Fitzwilliam, as a member of the House of Lords and a patron of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, could bring forward.

⁴². Account of the men, boys and horses employed at the Parkgate colliery. Signed by William Goodinson and undated, probably about 1841, WWM G42/1.

⁴³. Ben Biram to Fitzwilliam, 9 March 1833, referring to Fitzwilliam's previous instructions, WWM G40/57.

⁴⁴. Ben Biram to Fitzwilliam, 18 March 1833, WWM G40/53.

⁴⁵. Ben Biram to Fitzwilliam, 4 July 1833, WWM G40/62.

⁴⁶. Ben Biram to Fitzwilliam, 17 July 1833, WWM G40/64.

⁴⁷. Joshua Biram to Milton, 13 April 1832, WWM G40/35.

The Inquest verdict on the 1849 disaster was accidental death. Various recommendations for improvement to the ventilation system were made by the Government inspectors who attached no blame to the coal company. Although the mine was not a Fitzwilliam pit, within a month of the accident the Earl gave £50 to the fund which totalled over £1000.⁴⁸

Fitzwilliam provided, at his own expense, a doctor for those colliers who were injured in the mines. However, this did not work out always to the men's satisfaction, as they did not trust completely the doctor appointed to look after them. In 1839 the doctor, Mr Stone, was dangerously ill and sent for Ben Biram 'to name a subject which, it appears, has been a great annoyance to him' and Biram promised to inform Fitzwilliam 'that his sons after him, whom he thinks will be appointed to succeed him, may not have to undergo the same mortification'. The grievance was that the colliers in case of accident with a broken limb or otherwise had, almost uniformly, not confided themselves to Stone's skill, but generally by subscription amongst themselves had employed another doctor, Mr Crowder. Biram could not see how Fitzwilliam could constrain the men not to employ whom they pleased at their own expense but could see why the men should take this action:

Unfortunately for Mr Stone, in one or two cases to my knowledge where he has considered amputation to be necessary, Mr Crowder has afterwards made a perfect cure, so that it is not surprising that the men should not confide in him when a limb is at stake.⁴⁹

The incident demonstrates a subtle relationship within the paternalist approach: Fitzwilliam's choices were not always to his employees' liking and they would take independent action where they thought it appropriate. Presumably they were happy enough to have a doctor provided free of charge, and had Fitzwilliam employed Crowder to look after them they would have been content. It also demonstrates how a man might expect his son to succeed him in working for Fitzwilliam in a professional capacity.⁵⁰ In Ireland the estate agency passed from father (Chaloner) to son; in Malton it passed from father-in-law Allen to son-in-law Copperthwaite; Maude was Fitzwilliam's auditor like his father before him; and in South Yorkshire Ben Biram took over his father's job. As this inheritance depended on whether the member of the earlier generation did a good job, one can see that Stone would be desirous of putting the matter straight, as he saw it, before he died, so that his sons could inherit a position which must have been lucrative, given the number of serious accidents which occurred in the collieries.

IRON

Iron-making was not so great a success as coal-mining for the Fitzwilliams. Whereas the management of the collieries remained in Fitzwilliam hands and provided the estate with a large income, the ironworks made a loss and came to be leased out. Chief suspect in the lack of success of this enterprise was the works' manager, Henry Hartop, who did not keep adequate accounts when he kept them at all, and who was blamed by Newman amongst others for the failure. The reason for the ironworks' failure to make a discernible profit is not clear: the raw materials necessary for iron-making were in abundant supply under the Fitzwilliam lands or readily available from nearby, so raw material and trans-

⁴⁸ Newman to Fitzwilliam, 8 March 1847 and 10 February 1849, WWM G49/52, /70, /71 & /74. Newman's suggestions were: the appointment of competent colliery inspectors who, as men of science, could judge the proper safety conditions; better educated underground stewards to replace the incompetent, uneducated and ignorant; the immediate tackling of the problem by the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

⁴⁹ Biram to Fitzwilliam, 18 March 1839, WWM G40/108. This was not the only example of self-help among the workers: the iron workers at Park Gate set up a sick and divide club. WWM G44/35.

⁵⁰ A policy reflected on the Duke of Norfolk's estates.

port costs were negligible compared to those incurred by other iron smelters. Hartop's blustering letters to Fitzwilliam, blaming everyone but himself for the situation, do little to allay the suspicion over his conduct. That Fitzwilliam kept him as works manager for as long as he did testifies to Fitzwilliam's loyalty to his employees, but raises questions about his business acumen. The subsequent tenancies at the ironworks caused a few problems: there were occasional requests to take more ironstone from under some of the parkland, Messrs Grahams had difficulties paying their rent and Mr Dawes erected an eyesore which Fitzwilliam could not make him dismantle under the lease.

There were several ironworks on the South Yorkshire estate but Hartop was chiefly concerned with the operation of the Elsecar and Milton works. As early as 1828 the partnership between Hartop and Messrs Grahams for running the Milton works was not renewed because Grahams found 'the partnership accounts . . . have been allowed to get into a very confused state; so much so that even with the assistance of able accountants they cannot be cleared up'. Each side appointed a representative to look into the matter and arbitrate, but this ran into problems and no agreement was reached. Newman recommended that Hartop should not be allowed to carry on with Messrs Grahams — 'a connection which, I fear, could never be cordial' — because Fitzwilliam's risk would be too great. Since Hartop's relationship with his partners had become too strained for it to be worthwhile, Newman believed it would be better for Hartop to dispose of his interest and accept as much as Grahams would give him for it, especially if such a sum enabled him to repay his debt of £5000 to Fitzwilliam.⁵¹ This was not Hartop's only debt, and he owed £4000 to his family, who were pressing him for repayment through Hartop's brother-in-law who was acting as solicitor for them. They had retreated from their former threat of seizure of his effects and were willing to give him time to repay by instalments if he could provide a suitable guarantee, but they were determined to have their money.⁵² The dissolution of the partnership led to problems in sorting out the partners' proportions and the question of whether the book debts of the former partnership of Hartop, Sorby and Co. should be separated. Mr Birks, a friend of Hartop, stated that the difference was that if the debts were separated, Hartop would owe Grahams £656 10s. 0d. whereas if they were not separated Grahams would owe Hartop £7349 7s. 4d.⁵³ Another of Hartop's friends objected strongly to the method of arbitration used and complained that it was unfair.⁵⁴ Eventually the partnership was dissolved: Messrs Grahams ran the Milton ironworks as lessees and Hartop was left in charge of the ironworks at Elsecar.

Hartop was not one to mind his own business and he would write to Milton and offer his advice on matters which more properly concerned others. In 1831 he wrote to Milton that he had noticed that the patterns for the edge-rail and chair for Rawmarsh Colliery were on the same principle that was in use prior to 1816, since when there had been at least four improvements in the joining of edge-rails.⁵⁵ Five months later he wrote again, this time on the subject of colliers' wages, informing Milton that his colliers were paid 25s. to 26s. per week as opposed to 16s. for men working under similar conditions elsewhere: '63 per cent more for the same portion of work performed'.⁵⁶ In both these cases the matter fell within the province of the Birams and possibly Newman or Maude,

⁵¹ Letters from Messrs Grahams and from William Newman to fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 and 3 December 1828, WWM G44/9 & /10.

⁵² Newman to fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 January 1829, WWM G44/12.

⁵³ Mr Birks to Newman, 24 June 1829, WWM G44/15.

⁵⁴ Thos Booth to fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 June 1829, WWM G44/16.

⁵⁵ Hartop to Milton, undated (postmarked 5 March 1831), WWM G44/21.

⁵⁶ Hartop to Milton, 15 August 1831, WWM G44/23.

but not Hartop who seems to have been mischief-making to deflect attention from his own inadequacies. (Maude acted differently when he suggested that instead of having smiths at each pit, it would cost less overall if the smiths were at a central yard and requisitioned for work as it arose.⁵⁷ As this was a cost-cutting measure it was within his purview as auditor to propose it, but even so he said that he would discuss it with Biram.) Newman and the Malton estate agent, William Allen, both solicitors, came in for oblique criticism from Hartop in 1841 — 'the iron and coal masters say that noblemen and gentlemen make a great mistake when they place the management of their estates in the hands of lawyers' — but Biram's management style was criticised more directly:

... your Lordship's coaleries [*sic*] are far more extravagantly carried on than any similar works in the country, not *by Mr Biram* but *through him* by ignorant overlookers who are not in any way equal to grapple with the general affairs of works of such magnitude.⁵⁸

The following year Hartop again criticised Biram over colliers' wages and said that taking a servant back into employment following his dismissal was bad practice.⁵⁹ As such decisions were taken with Milton's agreement Hartop was implicitly criticising his employer. But Hartop would also send Milton details of experiments he was carrying out in the field of iron-smelting and when he heard Milton's attention was on the iron trade he sent him details of the cost of producing pig-iron broken down into the cost of materials (coal, limestone, ironstone) and of production (engine, repairs, labour). His figures, when allowing for the cost of coal to engine and labour, showed that Elsecar iron came out the best, above South Wales and Staffordshire,⁶⁰ but if his books were kept so badly, one wonders how he could extrapolate the figures to arrive at this conclusion.

It seems likely that Hartop's attempts to show others in a bad light and bolster his standing with his employer by attending to matters in which he knew Milton was interested was part of an attempt to cover up his inability to manage the ironworks effectively. The problems with the accounts continued at Elsecar as they had at Milton. By the 1840s he was often having to ask Fitzwilliam to send him money so that he could pay the week's wages.⁶¹ Unsurprisingly after his comments, his relationship with Newman deteriorated. Newman suggested that the losses at Elsecar were due to bad management on Hartop's part, which prompted Hartop to inform Fitzwilliam that several testimonials from the whole of the ironmasters of old standing in South Yorkshire had come into his hands and that one showed that Hartop could have had no selfish motives for continuing the management of the ironworks.⁶²

In the 1840s Hartop was involved in a dispute amongst iron producers as to whether the use of cold-blast or hot-blast was the most effective. Hot-blast, patented by J. B. Neilson of Glasgow in 1828, involved heating the air before it was blown into the furnaces. Since the air was already hot on entering the furnace, it did not absorb so much heat from the smelting coke in order to attain its best working temperature. Consequently coal replaced coke as the main fuel in iron smelting and less fuel per ton of ore was required.⁶³ Despite scientific trials which proved the saving of fuel and increased output, the innovation was not accepted at first by the majority of ironmasters who had plenty of cheap coal to hand and who were convinced that the cooler the blast the better the

⁵⁷. Maude to Fitzwilliam, 3 July 1849, WWM G50/10.

⁵⁸. Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 14 April 1841, WWM G44/45.

⁵⁹. Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 31 October 1842, WWM G44/58.

⁶⁰. Experiment carried out in 1830, WWM G44/18; iron production costs, Hartop to Milton, 19 September 1831, WWM G44/24.

⁶¹. Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 14 September 1840, WWM G44/40.

⁶². Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 31 March 1841, WWM G44/44.

⁶³. Leslie Aitchison, *A History of Metals* (London, 1960), Vol. 2, p. 509.

iron.⁶⁴ Hartop was decidedly a cold-blast man. He presented a paper to the West Riding Geological and Polytechnic Society on 4 July 1842 on the *Relative Properties of Iron Made by the Use of Cold and Hot Air Blast* and his conclusion was that the introduction of hot air into the manufacture of iron caused a saving of 12s. per ton on pig iron and 18s. per ton on bar iron, but it reduced generally the value of the castings from it by at least £3 per ton and, in some cases, rendered it unfit altogether for purposes on which personal safety depended.⁶⁵ In November of that year Hartop reported that the effect of the introduction of hot-blast was to reduce the price of cold-blast iron to 30s. per ton lower than it otherwise would have been on the Fitzwilliam estate.⁶⁶ A printed sheet shows two reports on experiments by Hartop and D. Mushet (the latter well-regarded for his experiments on metals) to determine the relevant strengths of hot- and cold-blast. The first report shows not only that Milton hot-blast iron was superior to that made by cold-blast at the same furnace but also that it came top of the table with a breaking weight of 610½ lb., whereas Elsecar cold-blast was bottom with a breaking weight of 427 lb. Hartop's experiment and conclusion were different: bars 2.58 in. in diameter were hit with a 20 lb. hammer and it took twenty-one blows to break the Elsecar cold-blast iron and one and a half to break the Milton hot-blast.⁶⁷ The introduction of hot-blast may have been against Hartop's own best interest: a changeover to hot-blast would have necessitated capital expenditure on plant to heat the blast and on replacement tuyeres (the pipes which carry the blast to the furnace). Given his financial position and the state of his accounts, he could hardly have relished approaching Fitzwilliam, Newman and Maude over such a large increase in expenditure.

If the attacks on colleagues and experiments on iron were a tactic intended as a smokescreen to distract anyone from prying too deeply into the Elsecar accounts it did not work, although it did take some time for the matter to be resolved. Hartop himself gave the loss on the Elsecar furnace from March 1827 to January 1840 as £9955, or £796 per annum per furnace. Of the £9955, £2749 was the actual loss on the furnace and £7206 was bad debts. Hartop was at pains to say that the other iron producers had suffered losses of about £1833 per annum by comparison with the Elsecar losses of £796, and that had Elsecar not been labouring under certain difficulties, it would have made a considerable profit.⁶⁸ This is unlikely: the other iron producers whose *sole* business was producing iron would have gone out of business with such losses over a twelve-year period. What the special difficulties of Elsecar were, Hartop does not say, but he indicated it was the wages over which he had never had any control with others fixing the rates too high: 'and this position of the debtor side of the account is a very considerable one'.⁶⁹ However, the wage rates do not seem excessive as the workmen received between 3s. 6d. and 8½d. a day and the only three wages over this were 10s. 11½d. per day for himself and 5s. 5¾d. per day each for his assistant (his son John) and the clerk (C. Dodson).⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Joan Day, 'Introduction', in *The Industrial Revolution in Metals*, ed. Joan Day and R. F. Tylecote (London, 1991), pp. 30–31.

⁶⁵ Pamphlet: H. Hartop, *Relative Properties of Iron Made by the Use of Cold and Hot Air Blast*, WWM G44/54.

⁶⁶ Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 7 November 1842, WWM G44/60. Hartop noted that there were at that time eleven blast furnaces on the Fitzwilliam estate, nine of which were usually worked. These were at Milton, Thorncliff, Parkgate, Park and Elsecar.

⁶⁷ Printed sheet undated but occurring between letters dated 1842 and 1844, WWM G44/64. The two experiments show different properties: malleable versus brittle. The chemistry was not well understood in the 1840s — hence the need for experimentation.

⁶⁸ Hartop to Fitzwilliam, October 1841, WWM G44/50.

⁶⁹ Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 28 September 1842, WWM G44/56.

⁷⁰ List of persons employed at Elsecar Ironworks August 1842, WWM G44/55. The 8½d. per day was for a groom who may have been a boy.

Continuing on the debtor side of the accounts, Hartop maintained that the quantity of materials used in the production of iron had been reduced to the least possible amount, having kept in view the production of the best possible quality, and that this resulted in savings of £20,900 at least. But the cost of labour and materials had kept high whilst the price of pig-iron had fallen by almost half between 1827 and the present. Almost seventeen years before, he had asked Newman to be allowed to make a railway from the Tankersley ironstone pits to the Milton works, but believed he had not been properly represented to Fitzwilliam.⁷¹

By 1844 the situation with the accounts was poor. Newman had examined the accounts of John Hartop, Henry's son, and questioned him on them, but Hartop junior was unable to give the requisite explanations without the assistance of his father. Newman produced a list of errors and points which required explanation in John Hartop's accounts and pointed out that Henry Hartop had last produced his accounts on 31 December 1839.⁷² In August 1845 Maude interviewed Hartop and found that his explanations consisted of long, rambling accounts of the losses of all ironworks over the previous years. Having had sight of the books, Maude found them to be in a very unsatisfactory state: the important books had not been entered up for three years. Hartop maintained that the material necessary for making up the books to the balance sheet existed in the day book. Maude doubted that this was so, but, as all that was required if it were the case was 'little more than the mechanical work of the accountant', he hinted to Hartop that Fitzwilliam should appoint an accountant to make up the books. Hartop's insistence that there was no need for this as there was enough time available to make up the books made his neglect of them even less excusable.⁷³ Four years later Maude expressed his opinion to Fitzwilliam that his Lordship 'cannot thro' the fluctuations of years carry on the iron trade to profit, and that in the long run you will be the gainer by selling your minerals, and giving another the fair trader's profit for manufacturing for you'.⁷⁴ It was advice which Fitzwilliam was to take a few years later.

Looking for a way out Hartop began to cast around with schemes which could hardly have recommended themselves to Fitzwilliam, such as the merging of the Milton and Elsecar works. (He was still bitter about the way the Grahams had treated him: 'plundering me of what remained of my own [capital] under such circumstances that I cannot take to myself any blame of want of capital in the hands of those connected with me at the Milton works'.) He maintained that he might not have the power of making a profit but he had been the means of avoiding greater losses than would otherwise have been made.⁷⁵ By 1851, Hartop was no longer running the Elsecar ironworks and wrote to ask Fitzwilliam for 'payment of such percentage as may be thought due to me for my most anxious undertaking in the management of the Elsecar Ironworks'.⁷⁶ Fitzwilliam referred this to Maude, who expressed some amusement at Hartop's

attempt to convince your Lordship in the face of his own accounts, such as they are, and of the more melancholy fact of the actual disappearance of so much money from your pockets, that you have been in reality a gainer of some £80,000, when you supposed you were a loser.

Maude suggested that Fitzwilliam should treat the affair as one of business, to be tested entirely by the figures.⁷⁷ Such a percentage was to be paid from the profits which were

⁷¹. Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 28 September 1842, WWM G44/56.

⁷². Newman to Fitzwilliam, 22 August 1844, WWM G44/87.

⁷³. Maude to Fitzwilliam, 25 August 1845, WWM G50/4.

⁷⁴. Maude to Fitzwilliam, 15 April 1849, WWM G50/9.

⁷⁵. Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 19 September 1844, WWM G44/68.

⁷⁶. Hartop to Fitzwilliam, 3 April 1851, WWM G44/73.

⁷⁷. Maude to Fitzwilliam, 25 January 1851, WWM G50/11.

to be received by Fitzwilliam, and no profits were received. Even if the best reasonable gloss were put on the different claims by Hartop it served only to reduce the loss: 'I cannot advise your Lordship that he has a claim to any amount as percentage on profits'.⁷⁸ Mr Dawes, who followed Hartop at Elsecar, was to be a tenant and the problem of any potential loss on the works was removed as far as Fitzwilliam was concerned. Dawes was a confirmed cold-blast man when he came to Elsecar, but by 1855 was producing hot-blast iron. He gave Fitzwilliam problems nevertheless as he erected a bar-iron works and a puddling furnace at Elsecar contrary to Fitzwilliam's wishes, and legal opinion said that Dawes had a right to do this under the terms of the lease.⁷⁹

Why Fitzwilliam kept Hartop employed as manager at Elsecar when he knew that he was not managing the works at a profit or producing proper accounts to show why he was making a loss is difficult to decipher. For all Fitzwilliam knew, the poor accounting system might have been used to cover up defalcations. He was more likely to take the advice of Newman and Maude together than Hartop alone. It is unlikely that he was taken in by the *arguments* in Hartop's blustering letters which claimed all sorts of reasons why he was not making a profit but offered little by way of substantial proof. But in some respects the *receipt* of so many letters may hold the key, as the situation is similar to that of Reverend Henry Moore, who was Rector of Carnew in Ireland and who fell foul of Fitzwilliam and Robert Chaloner, the agent of his Irish estates, in a controversy over the Fitzwilliam schools. Moore was required to quit his home in Carnew Castle, but wrote to Fitzwilliam constantly bringing up points for investigation and consideration and was able to obtain a stay of execution. Perhaps in both cases they were able to create enough doubt in Fitzwilliam's mind that not all avenues had been explored as justice demanded they should be before they were cast out.

CERAMICS

The Rockingham Works at Swinton was founded as a pottery in 1745 and came also to produce good quality porcelain by the 1820s. Thomas Brameld, who ran the works with his brothers George Frederick and John Wager, lacked the caution of his father, who had died in 1819, and sought to extend the business to produce the finest porcelain with which he could attract the custom of the wealthy visitors to Wentworth. Unable to manage the finances, the three brothers were declared bankrupt in 1825, but the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam supported the firm financially in April 1826 to allow them to continue production. This can be seen as a form of local patronage as it was estimated that 500 or 600 would lose employment in that area, not only because the workforce would lose their jobs, but also because the Bramelds had borrowed heavily from local tradesmen and relied on the habit of drawing and accepting bills from other local potters, which would have had a deleterious effect on the local economy.⁸⁰ By the early 1830s the works were heavily dependent on Fitzwilliam subsidy as is shown in the statement of their accounts for October 1831 (see Table 2). Although the Bramelds were better at keeping accounts than Hartop, they still encountered cash-flow problems and tried to buy more time. A letter from Brameld to Newman in 1832 expressed regret at their inability to pay as they should have done and said that they were producing services for the King and the Duchess of Cumberland and expected considerable increase in trade, especially in London, as a result.⁸¹ Newman's response was to refer the matter to Milton who by this

⁷⁸. Maude to Fitzwilliam, 11 April 1851, WWM G44/76.

⁷⁹. Newman to Fitzwilliam, 24 January 1855, WWM G49/106.

⁸⁰. A. & A. Cox, *Rockingham Pottery and Porcelain 1745-1842* (London, 1983).

⁸¹. Brameld to Newman, 28 August 1832, WWM G47/11.

time felt his family had subsidised the pottery for long enough. This caused Brameld to express his ‘grief and distress’ and to ask for an interview to explain matters. He also asked for £2000 for wages for the next 16 weeks so they could complete His Majesty’s service and be paid for it.⁸²

TABLE 2: Copy statement of Messrs Brameld’s accounts October 1831†

To Earl Fitzwilliam for money advanced for the purchase of stocks		£10,500	os.	od.
To Do due for rents and interest		£5383	18s.	4d.
To Cooke, Foljambe and Co. due to them		£5472	6s.	1d.
To sundry creditors in Great Ledger		£2122	16s.	4½d.
To sundry debts owing not in Great Ledger	£573	18s.	11d.	
Workmen due to them	£456	os.	od.	£1029. 18s. 11d.
To 15 per cent on £3074 19s. od. amount of journey debts		£461	5s.	od.
To Balance		£2206	15s.	11d.
Total		£27,677	os.	7½d.
By amount of debts in Great Ledger		£11,897	5s.	9½d.
Do - Do - in sub-ledger		£421	2s.	1d.
Amount of bad debts	£1085	15s.	3½d.	
By amount of utensils and materials	£9538	19s.	10d.	
Of earthenware and china	£8488	13s.	8d.	
York warehouse	£1854	14s.	6d.	
Doncaster	£273	15s.	3d.	
Leeds	£27	9s.	6d.	
	£20,183	12s.	9d.	
Deduct as before	£4825.	os.	od.	£15,358. 12s. 9d.
				£27,677. os. 7½d.

†Copy statement of Messrs Brameld’s accounts October 1831. Sheffield WWM G47/10.

Newman was clearly exasperated by the conduct of the Bramelds who had borrowed from Fitzwilliam £18,000 at various times in addition to the arrears of rent: ‘I think your Lordship’s feelings and interests ought to have been considered a little more before so large a debt and so hopeless a one had been contracted’. Very little business had been done at the pottery for the previous year or two, ‘and it has for some time past looked almost deserted’. Some debts had been paid as a result of selling old stock ‘or by creditors taking such goods as they could select from the stock in hand when they were hopeless of obtaining money’. Newman thought that if Fitzwilliam were to advance more money it would go the same way as the rest, ‘no more seen by your Lordship and of no ultimate use to the parties’. Newman felt the Bramelds should bring their affairs to a close and make such repayment of their debts as they could out of their stock. Rather than a business loan, Newman suggested that Fitzwilliam should pay the elder members of the family an annual sum until they could arrange some other means of support, and let the junior branches take situations in counting houses or as mercantile travellers.⁸³

⁸². Brameld to Milton, 8 September 1832, WWM G47/12.
⁸³. Newman to Fitzwilliam, undated but occurring between letters dated 2 December 1841 and 23 November 1842, WWM G49/41.

The Bramelds may have become disillusioned by their cash-flow problems by the late 1830s and not been taking as much interest in their operations as they should. There are accounts of men who received pay and then spent the day drinking, of men paid after they had left the firm and of work being performed poorly or not at all. The pottery, which was not enclosed, also seems to have suffered from theft and vandalism.⁸⁴ The closure of the Rockingham works took place shortly afterwards, but any former disillusionment did not prevent Brameld, who in 1842 heard a rumour that the Rockingham Works was to reopen, from asking Fitzwilliam if he and his brother 'should be allowed the chance of carrying on our favorite [*sic*] trade, the manufacture of china'. He thought they could find partners without financial aid from Fitzwilliam, and, if so, would only carry on the trade in china, although they would need some of the earthenware forms and engravings which were used for china and for making up sets for customers. He indicated that he had learnt his lesson and stated that they would proceed cautiously, only making goods for actual orders. Also, they would not have 'the general and sweeping expences [*sic*] of the bad system we have so long laboured under'.⁸⁵ To some extent the 'bad system' was perpetuated by Fitzwilliam's continuing to subsidise a business which had no incentive to change its practices provided that the money kept coming in from other sources. It is another example of the man at the top of the Fitzwilliam enterprises being able to a large extent to indulge his paternalist instincts, to contradict his learning in political economy and to retain middle-managers who were not up to the job of running a business, because the business was all the time underwritten by the rent income. Middle-class employers might also be paternalist, but they had to run their business at a profit as it was their only source of income, and such were the pressures of business upon them that they could not afford to give their managers the leeway which Hartop and Brameld received from Fitzwilliam.

CONCLUSION

The South Yorkshire estate was managed in a way substantially different from the Malton and Irish estates: there was no single agent in overall charge of all facets of the undertaking; there was a large industrial element due to the presence of coal and ironstone; the Earl himself lived on the estate for part of the year and this involved the management of a large staff of domestic and outside servants with the attendant logistical problems of food, accommodation, plant and animal husbandry and the provision of social events. In addition to his role as landlord, Fitzwilliam was, on this estate, an industrialist — by no means unique among the aristocracy in occupying this position. The lack of an overall manager (except when Fitzwilliam was present) facilitated the petty squabbling between Hartop and the other agents, and could have led to disastrous in-fighting between all the agents and managers on the estate had their temperaments so inclined them. The staff employed under these managers could expect to benefit up to a point from the Fitzwilliam brand of paternalism. But the paternalism which was present in Malton and on the Irish estates applied mainly to the agricultural tenancy. It did apply in some measure to the paid staff in South Yorkshire, but the people who were given a large amount of leeway on the South Yorkshire estate were Hartop and Brameld, who were socially on a similar level to the agricultural tenantry on the other estates. This is reflected in Fitzwilliam's dealings with the other coal owners in the same coalfield and his unwillingness to be seen

⁸⁴. A. & A. Cox, *Rockingham Pottery and Porcelain 1745–1842* (London, 1983), p. 71.

⁸⁵. Brameld to Fitzwilliam, 29 November 1842, WWM G47/18.

to act in an ungentlemanly way in response to the cut and thrust of commerce. Fitzwilliam was anxious to be fair to all his agents, managers and tenants and applied his tenets to all, his sense of justice being over-developed to the extent that he can be fairly criticised for not ending Hartop's and Brameld's tenures earlier. Unlike the majority of his industrial rivals, he could afford to indulge himself in this respect: the rent income covered the errors which would have driven other industrialists into bankruptcy.

The Council of the Society is grateful to the Trustees of the Earl Fitzwilliam Charitable Trust for a grant in support of the publication of this article.

OBITUARIES

DENNIS BROOKE

The Society owes a lot since it moved in 1969 to Claremont both to Dennis Brooke, who died in June 2000, and to his wife Mary. Born and brought up in Leeds he gained a Bachelor of Commerce from the University: a degree that, forward looking in its combined subjects, reflected the balance of interests between the financial and administrative on the one hand and the literary, historical and artistic sensibilities which intrigued him.

His marriage to Mary, some years his senior, established an intellectually formidable but caring, down-to-earth, Yorkshire partnership. Together they created an equally strong family life in adopting their children, Nicholas and Sue.

Dennis made his career with Yorkshire Copper Works. The demands of the business took the whole family for four years to Brazil in the early 1950s. Dennis returned from four years in São Paulo chastened by the manipulations of local business practice, but having given his family a memorable exposure to Portuguese-South American Language and Culture.

On their return in 1954 they bought a third of Righton House at Oulton, part of a seventeenth-century yeoman's house that they developed and extended to a whole occupation of Righton House over the years and which they made the focus of a very active social life. There were welcomes for boarding-school children of families remaining in Brazil, for rehearsal groups from the Dramatic Society, for visiting clergy. Between them they made a rich and cultivated life.

My collaboration with Dennis began in 1981 when he agreed to take over from Geoff Hurst as Treasurer of the Society. We worked closely together as Secretary and Treasurer until 1991; he continued for a couple more years as Treasurer and continued to support the Council of the Society from his position as a Vice-President. Through those years the Society owes much of its prosperity to Dennis's business skills. In 1981 we had sold 9 Park Place (the adjacent property to the Society's one-time Headquarters at no. 10) for £180,000 at a time when we were able to invest at rates of 12.5 per cent. Such an opportunity is easily wasted; but it was due to Dennis's careful investment and prudent allocation of funds that the Society prospered. He kept the balance between repairs and the running costs of the Society and its library. In particular he ensured the prosperity of Sections by investing their funds with those of the Society but ensuring that they were credited with their full share of the good interest rates that he was able to obtain.

But by 1981 Dennis and Mary were already playing an active part in the life of the Society. The Georgian section was staging a revival under the Chairmanship of Harwood Long strongly supported by Dennis. The section, although ailing, he kept alive until very recently.

They were active members of the Medieval section. But perhaps it was in their support for the Society's functions that they will be remembered; there was a memorable Victorian evening in period costume, a pleasure that reflects amateur dramatics at home with their children and with the Oulton and Woodlesford Dramatic Society. Indeed in those years Dennis's dedication was both to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and to the Oulton & Woodlesford Institute, the latter a remarkable survival of the philanthropic Mechanics Institute, but both impeccably administered by Dennis with the same firm principles. The Society owes so much to Dennis for the example that he gave to us over those years.

Grafton, York

Peter Davidson, Vice-President

I am grateful to John Thorp for allowing me to use his appreciation of Dennis in writing this.

GEORGE STEPHEN DARLOW

When Stephen Darlow first appeared at Claremont in 1977, introduced to staff and members as the retired Librarian of the University of Kent, he seemed a rather remote and intensely reserved figure. He was, however, a most warmly welcomed addition to the team of volunteers whose efforts, then as now, enable the Yorkshire Archaeological Society to provide its members and others with a first-rate service at its headquarters and library.

Stephen Darlow was born in Norwich on 7 August 1917. His father became Town Clerk of Bedford, where the young Stephen was educated at Bedford School, going on in 1936 to Peterhouse, Cambridge, with a scholarship to read classics. After graduating in 1939 he joined the Royal Artillery and was posted to the Middle East. His wartime career was distinguished and colourful. He served in North Africa, being mentioned in dispatches, but was captured at Tobruk. He managed to escape from imprisonment in Italy, and lived in hiding among farmers, working as a labourer, until Italy fell to the Allies.

On his return to England and civilian life, Stephen Darlow chose to take up librarianship, starting his career at the Royal Empire Society, after a spell as a trainee at Bedford Public Library. In 1947 he first came to Leeds as an assistant librarian in the University. This post offered him wide experience and opportunity, including an exchange year at Pittsburgh University in the United States. In 1954 he moved to Durham University as Deputy Librarian, and from there, in 1963, to the newly-established University of Kent at Canterbury, where as Librarian he had the exacting task of starting the library from scratch, with no books and no building.

Stephen Darlow spent fourteen years at Kent, during which time, through sheer hard work, dedication, persistence, immense scholarship and personal charm, he was able to build up a library of over 320,000 books in its permanent building. It is a measure of the esteem in which he was held that, on the day of his funeral in February 2000, the flags of the library and all the colleges of the University flew at half-mast as a mark of respect for their first Librarian.

On his retirement at the age of sixty he moved back to Yorkshire, and went to live at Boston Spa. It was then that he began the twenty years of quiet support for the YAS library and Council which have proved a mainstay of the Society. The YAS had not been slow to snap up a distinguished retired librarian who was willing to devote several hours each week to cataloguing the books at Claremont. The Society's own Librarians (a succession of four during the years from 1977 to 1997) have always had more than enough work to fill their time, and the offer of help from such an eminent volunteer was of immense value. One could imagine, in certain circumstances, that a relatively young and inexperienced librarian might find this assistance rather daunting. But such was Stephen Darlow's modesty and self-effacing style, so unobtrusive his presence, and yet so scholarly and sound his support that all valued him and put the utmost trust in him. He in turn was able to give them advice and encouragement and boost their confidence. He became a member of the Society's Council in 1978, and in 1986 the Society recognised his contribution to the library by making him Honorary Librarian. This continued until 1997 when, no longer able to come to Claremont on account of his deteriorating health, he was made Honorary Librarian Emeritus, a position he held until his death.

Despite his quiet, self-deprecating manner, those of us who worked at Claremont came to appreciate not only his enormous bibliographical knowledge, which he was able to call upon at any time, and his civilised conversation round the tea table, but also his dry sense of humour, which would occasionally burst out in a guffaw audible in the next room. He was a man of contrast and contradiction, a man with hidden depths: shy scholar and cat-lover, effective leader and quiet worker, who had had hair-raising wartime experiences, yet never spoke of them. There was a lot more to Stephen Darlow than met the eye. His sister, Elizabeth Gallagher, with whom he lived in Boroughbridge for the last eight years of his life, described him as 'a scholar and a gentleman'. He was held in the highest esteem and affection by all those who knew him and worked with him at Claremont. His contribution to the well-being of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society has been immense, and the Society owes heartfelt thanks to his memory.

Sylvia Thomas, Vice-President and former Archivist

I am grateful to a number of people, for their advice and help in the preparation of this appreciation: Geoffrey Linnell and Margaret Coutts of the University of Kent, Elizabeth Gallagher of Boroughbridge, and Janet Teague, Peter Davidson and Gordon Forster of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

RAYMOND HAYES

The death of Raymond Harland Hayes, in May 2000, perhaps marks the end of the genuinely amateur tradition in Yorkshire archaeology. Amateur archaeology continues, but is reliant on partnerships with professional resources to undertake the specialist analysis which is nowadays a necessary component of archaeological fieldwork.

Raymond was indefatigable in his researches — his first archaeological note was printed in 1942, his last was published in 1994, when he was 90. He remained an active fieldworker throughout his life, undertaking numerous excavations which were duly published. The list of Hayes publications reveals the huge range of his interests — from caving to cruck buildings, from Roman roads to ironstone mining. He published a definitive account of the Rosedale ironstone mines and railway, while his books on Rosedale and his native village of Hutton-le-Hole are the very best kind of local histories, accurate but full of anecdote and local colour.

The *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* over the years carried many notices of sites discovered by Raymond, although the majority of his longer papers were published by the Scarborough Archaeological Society and regularly, after its inception in 1965, *Ryedale Historian*. A feature of Raymond's work from the first was his collaboration with fellow archaeologists. Many of his publications were contributions under joint authorship, including *A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* (1963), *Wade's Causeway* (1964) and *Rosedale Mines and Railway* (1974). One of Raymond's most fruitful collaborations was with John Rutter, formerly Curator of Scarborough Museum: this took in Wade's Causeway, cruck framed buildings, and ironstone mining. Another, later, one was with Don Spratt, and focused on (mostly) Iron Age querns. Don continued this project enthusiastically after Raymond's enforced retirement from fieldwork, and the larger project which it became is even now coming to fruition.

Carrying on his father's trade as photographer, and later supplementing his income as a postman, Raymond was well placed to learn of archaeological sites and discoveries. He was for many years a regional archaeological recorder for the Ordnance Survey, and his maps and card index were supplemented by a good memory and an encyclopaedic knowledge of the North Yorkshire Moors. His commitment to this activity was recognised by the award of MBE in the New Year's Honours List of 1966 and the Silver Medal of the YAS in 1990. His publications illustrate his willingness to share knowledge and information, marked also by his involvement in the Helmsley and Scarborough archaeological societies, and by his collaboration with Bert Frank and others in the establishment of the folk museum at Hutton-le-Hole, where the Hayes photographic studio caravan can be found, together with a display relating to Raymond's work. His legacy is not only a greatly expanded record of the archaeology of north-east Yorkshire, but also a continuing tradition of collaboration among amateur and professional archaeologists working in this area.

A biography of Raymond Hayes has yet to be produced, but a list of his publications, and references to short biographical notes, can be found in the edited volume *Moorland Monuments*, published by the Council for British Archaeology as its Research Report 101 (1995).

Hartburn, Stockton-on-Tees

Blaise Vyner

This note is based, with acknowledgement, on one published in *Voice of the Moors*, the magazine of the North Yorkshire Moors Association.

JOAN ALICIA INGILBY

Joan Ingilby was born at North Stainley in 1911, the younger daughter of the younger twin son of Sir William Ingilby, Bt, of Ripley Castle. Her mother was Marjorie Phelips from Montacute House, Somerset. She was at school at Leyburn until the family moved to Perth but remained in touch with her relatives at Ripley. Old photographs show them in a historical pageant with Joan on horseback.

She always lived modestly and during the Second World War worked in market gardening near her home in Wetherby. Later the meals which she and Marie Hartley shared with friends contained home-grown fruit and vegetables and eggs from their hens. They would set out on their work with packed lunches. Joan said that *West Yorkshire* was 'written on eggs'.

Joan moved in a creative circle including the author Phyllis Bentley. From an early age she wrote poems, which appeared in magazines, and in 1994 a collection *Poems, Strange Places* was published. The themes are sensitively observed, often tinged with nostalgia and empathy for wild creatures, working people and the natural world.

I belong to the lands of the North,
To the wind, the snow and the gales,
I'm at one with the winter's wrath,
With the stone and the soil of the dales.

From her young days Joan Ingilby loved the Dales. In 1947 she joined forces with Marie Hartley to continue the work begun in the 1930s by Marie and Ella Pontefract, who had died in 1945. The names of Joan Ingilby and Marie Hartley have now been familiar to everyone interested in the landscape and history of Yorkshire for over half a century.

Askrigg became the focus of Joan's life. Here she and Marie pursued their work, enjoying their home and village life while visiting Dales people in remote farms and cottages, recording buildings, domestic interiors, crafts and life in times now vanished. Their books form a scholarly account of change, meticulous and thorough but in an accessible style. The illustrations (line drawings, wood engravings and photographs, largely by Marie) add to the value. This was ground-breaking work, creating a body of topographical and folk life studies, which has never been superseded.

Their first collaboration was *The Old Hand Knitters of the Dales* (1951), an important contribution to textile history. From studies of individual buildings (e.g. Bainbridge High Mill, in *A Dales Heritage* (1982)) to the comprehensive and exemplary village history of Askrigg (*Yorkshire Village* (1953)), the book that they considered to be their best, their writings give an insight, which would now be difficult to obtain. Probably their most original works are the three volumes in the Life and Tradition Series, which came between 1968 and 1976 (*Yorkshire Dales, Moorland of North-East Yorkshire* and *West Yorkshire*).

Joan was a methodical record-keeper, compiling notes and references over the decades. Valuable material is promised to the YAS. Artefacts such as traditional household and farm items were gathered. This collection, with thorough documentation, was generously donated to the North Riding in 1972 and became the core of what is now the Dales Countryside Museum at Hawes.

Their contribution to scholarship was recognised by the award of the MBE in 1977 for 'services to the culture and history of Yorkshire', the rarely given YAS Silver Medal in 1993 and honorary degrees by York and the Open University in 1999.

Joan continued to work until near the end of her life. She died on 27 October 2000, leaving Marie, now ninety-five, in the house which they shared. Joan Ingilby's work was her life, spent mostly in her beloved Yorkshire, which is richer for the mirror which she held up to it.

Bainbridge

June Hall

JENNIFER KANER

Jennifer Kaner died well before her time on 14 September 2000. She was born Jennifer Mary Tisdall in Kenya in 1936. Her family was connected with Dr Hook, the great Victorian vicar of Leeds. She was brought up in Hertfordshire and graduated in sociology at Bedford College, London. She came to York as a personnel officer at Rowntrees and was twice a council candidate for the Liberal party. Her first publication was on voluntary workers in York. An interest in local history began in the 1970s and there followed nearly thirty years of immensely enthusiastic and productive activity. The British Association for Local History has recently given her posthumously its Award for Personal Achievement. Jennifer knew before she died that this had been proposed and took pride in it.

Rita Freedman of York City Archives described Jennifer as York's foremost local historian. She was a council member and officer of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society and a council member of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. There were contributions to the *York Historian* and the *YAYAS Times* and an edition of probate documents concerning South Cave. Jennifer was also active in the WEA. In her local history classes she communicated her own enthusiasm and encouraged others to do research. Indefatigable in local archives and the Public Record Office, she was always ready to share her discoveries with others. She was entirely unselfish and unambitious in a worldly sense.

In the YAS Jennifer contributed to the *Yorkshire Boundaries* publication of 1993, attended Council meetings as YAYAS representative and for a time edited and improved the publications of the Medieval Section, which she regularly attended. Her visits to Claremont were partly to indulge in another great passion, gardening. She loved her own garden, and a moving tribute at her memorial meeting likened the way that she sowed seeds and encouraged plants to her life in general — her kindness, generosity and encouragement of others.

Jennifer also found time to marry Ralph, himself distinguished both in his business career and as a historian, and to have three sons and multiplying grandchildren.

Before going into hospital Jennifer took time to complete the draft of her article on Anne Vavasour, which she lived to see published in last year's *YAJ*. It was a subject that suited her admirably. Given some respite from her illness, she visited Florence and, when she came to Claremont, did a stint in the garden. Hers was a unique personality, and York and the YAS are poorer without her.

Michael Collinson

In writing this I was helped by Rita Freedman and several members of the YAS.

NORMAN MIRSKY

Norman Mirsky, who died in October 2000 after a long and courageous battle against diabetes and kidney failure, should not only be remembered for himself but as a fine example of a family that overcame the oppression of the German Wars.

A colleague of great sophistication and an innate charm whose quick mind would get at once to the heart of a question, he did perhaps exemplify many of the attractive qualities of the Jewish nation.

The father was a successful textile manufacturer in Moscow but had to run for it in 1917; they got out through the Crimea and would make their way to a new career in Britain. But they passed through Berlin on their way and met there an old family friend and they stayed and were successful.

Inevitably the Nazi pressures in the early 1930s drove them out. The two families were, as they remained, very close. They were quick to respond to the threat: sending the children out first, both families got over here. Norman's father set up again and built a successful textile business.

Norman was born in Chemnitz in 1925, went to Mill Hill School in North London; he reckoned that his brother some few years older had never become completely bilingual but Norman had been young enough to assimilate fully and was bilingual. He was called up into the navy and served on destroyers in the Bay of Biscay as a CPO on special duties. His business was to listen to German signal traffic as a colloquial speaker: courageous stuff. In the post-War years he worked in the textile industry until he set up his own business in Shipley. He married Juliet in 1953 and they set up home with their three children, latterly living in Bingley.

Norman first became interested in the YAS after joining a course in local history in Bradford run by Jean le Patourel in the early 1970s. He was an active member of the Medieval Section, at one stage involved in the production of its newsletter and in building recording, later frequently chairing its committee and acting as its treasurer. He was also an active member of Olicana Historical Society.

At that time Alan Aberg was encouraging recruits from industry to take a part in running the Society; Don Spratt and Norman were notable successes for that policy. He had an acute sense of business; of how to invest money fruitfully. This was always done with such a sure touch. He joined the Council in 1976 where for many years he was a member of the investment sub-committee. He will be sadly missed both as a friend and for his contribution to the Society.

Grafton, York

Peter Davidson, Vice-President

Members of the Medieval Section kindly helped me to complete this obituary.

BOOK REVIEWS

ROMAN CASTLEFORD: EXCAVATIONS 1974–85. VOLUME II. THE STRUCTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE. By P. ABRAMSON, D. S. BERG and M. R. FOSSICK. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. x and 358. Figs 135. Pls 31. Tables 52. West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, Wakefield, 1999. Price: £26. ISBN 1 870453 22 0.

This is the second in a series describing work on the Roman fort and civilian settlement (*vicus*) at Castleford. It introduces significant new evidence about the Roman military presence in the region and draws a series of scholarly conclusions. This is not, however, an easy report to engage with. There is no introductory summary and the text plunges straight into dense description. The authors assume that their readers know most of what is contained in other reports in the series.

More than twenty major excavations are described within the context of a general phasing structure (Abramson and Fossick). A fort was probably first built here in the early 70s, and the authors relate this to campaigns under Cerialis or Frontinus. A rubbish dump from this first phase of occupation was buried beneath the ramparts of a second fort. Coin evidence suggests that this was built after AD 86 and systematically dismantled in the early second century. A *vicus* outlived the fort, but witnessed sharp decline after a Hadrianic boom. Third- and fourth-century remains (including industrial activity and burials) were, however, widespread. Earthworks suggest the presence of a large late Roman defended enclosure.

This outline chronology facilitates study of the site as a whole, but the brisk attention given to the individual excavations makes it difficult to reconstruct the histories of particular buildings. There is a frustrating tendency to simply list later features, and little of the dating evidence is presented. Timber structures recorded inside the fort included a gate, granaries, a (?)courtyard building and barracks. No complete plans were recovered and the structural descriptions are summary. There are, however, some useful additions to our knowledge of the architecture of the period.

A late first-century military style bathhouse was built in an annexe north of the fort, and survived into the third century. A *vicus* to the south was occupied by a series of early strip-buildings. Second-century masonry structures here may have included an administrative building (*mansio*), although too little of the plan of the building was recovered to confirm this. Cool speculates that an adjacent building may have been the focus of a ritual activity (perhaps a healing cult associated with Brigantia).

The second half of the volume describes environmental evidence. Botanical remains reveal no great surprises, and the issue of timber supply is not tackled. The discussion of the animal bone is altogether more important (Berg). The large first-century assemblage has a major contribution to make to our understanding of army supply. The evidence suggests that the first fort was used as a winter-base and drew on local livestock. The slaughter of working and pregnant animals points to forced requisitioning. Butchery waste indicates that some meat had been cured, presumably in preparation for summer campaigns. Several interesting arguments are presented in a readable account. Useful contrasts are drawn with urban assemblages in considering the extent to which certain butchery practices can be linked to the development of market economies.

The concluding chapter reviews the history of the site (Abramson), in the context of what is known about military activity in northern Britain (Bishop). Interesting questions are raised about the reasons for the vitality of the *vicus* after the abandonment of the fort, and for its subsequent decline. One possibility is that a later fort awaits identification. But fort or no fort it is clear that soldiers were still housed here. Castleford remained an important staging point in administered supply routes, and this may have been the more critical factor in its changing fortunes.

Although the way in which it is presented will unnecessarily restrict its readership, the West

Yorkshire Archaeology Service deserves much credit for bringing this important report to publication.

University of York

Dominic Perring

ROMAN CASTLEFORD: EXCAVATIONS 1974–85. VOLUME III. THE POTTERY. By PETER RUSH, BRENDA DICKINSON, BRIAN HARTLEY and K. F. HARTLEY. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. viii and 278. Figs 98. Tables 28. West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, Morley, 2000. Price: £28. ISBN 1 870453 23 9.

This is a book we have awaited for many years. It covers the 1974–1985 excavations on the Roman site of *Lagentium*; the coarse pottery research was complete by 1990, the mortaria report by 1993, albeit both sections have been revised before publication. It is therefore not a ‘new’ book, and elements of the research and methodology must already be a decade out of date. As an example, there are no references to my York volumes of 1993 and 1997 within the coarseware report, which is a great shame as there are many parallels between the pottery assemblages of the Flavian-Trajanic period in each town which are worthy of discussion. Vessels in Rush’s ‘Fabric 41’ are very close to those made in Ebor Ware and there are close similarities in the local grey and rusticated wares. Assumptions on the dating and origin of certain vessel types have also not been modified on the basis of the evidence from York — for example ‘Yorkshire red-painted ware’.

Probably the key feature of the book is the presentation of the 1974 ‘pottery shop’ material, including one of the most important groups of Hadrianic-early Antonine samian in Britain. Analysed by Brenda Dickinson and Brian Hartley, the fragmentary and burnt material contains a high proportion of ‘unpopular’ forms and many Lezoux vessels with blurred designs, as if these were ‘seconds’ — perhaps the vessels the shop was having difficulty selling. Most interesting is the number of different potters identified amongst the 800 or so vessels represented and the indications that this debris is only part of an assemblage which may have been much larger. With over 1000 illustrations, the samian report will become a standard fixture of Roman pottery bibliographies.

Coarseware is presented by sequential type number, accompanied by a fabric series and a large study of the mortaria. Over 700 illustrations will prove useful for stylistic and distributional studies. Selective quantification is given by sherd count and estimated number of vessels. Extensive cross-matching of sherds has been employed to mitigate the effects of residuality. The presentation will not, however, find favour with those who like to see stratified groups published in full. An appendix lists associations between the illustrated pottery and other finds; this data takes up 25 per cent of the book’s length and is of the kind we will increasingly see presented in electronic form in the future.

Bringing an archaeological project to publication is never easy, so Rush should be congratulated. He is honest about the shortcomings of the protracted post-excavation process; he has taken this into account when compiling the volume. A well-produced hardback, its silky pages and luxury of illustrations make this a splendid work to own and to consult.

Guernsey Museum

Jason Monaghan

FEEDING A CITY: YORK. Edited by EILEEN WHITE. 25 x 17.5 cm. Pp. 282. Illus 65. Prospect Books, Totnes, 2000. Price: £25. ISBN 1 903018 02 1. Available from Tom Jaine, Prospect Books, Allaleigh House, Blackawton, Totnes, Devon TQ9 7DL.

This collection of fourteen essays originated in the Leeds Symposia on Food History. Two are archaeological, explaining what can be deduced from plant remains (Alan Hall) and animal bones (Terry O’Connor) excavated at sites in York. The editor has contributed three chapters on food in everyday life, Peter Brears two on the guilds concerned with food and on York as a social centre, while Hugh Murray’s essay is on the development of the nineteenth-century city. The last three chapters, by Bill Taylor, Ann Rycraft and Laura Mason respectively, deal with the confectionery industry (Terrys, Cravens and Rowntrees), four manuscript recipe books, and with York ham,

Fulford biscuits and other regional foods. One essay, that by John Hudson on reproducing pottery for use in historical cooking, does not tie in very well with the rest.

The book covers food and drink in York from Roman times to the beginning of the twentieth century, regulations for its sale and quality, traders and the various specialised markets. Inventories are used to show the range and use of household implements, a seventeenth-century prosecution for immorality provides evidence for herb growing, while Seebohm Rowntree's survey of 1899 gives details of the meals of the many poor. Noble visitors were offered maine-bread, marmalade, sugar loaves and salmon. Jennifer Kaner found the first mention of potatoes in York among Sir Arthur Ingram's accounts for 1612.

Several of the illustrations are of the city's market places or of Ouse Bridge; some are faintly reproduced and a plan of the new market in Parliament Street would have been desirable, since the general map is barely adequate. The illustrations of the street cries of York (c. 1810) were new to the reviewer, as were the calls of 'Hot Black Puddings, hot, steaming hot', 'Dainty brave cheese-cakes, two for two pence', or 'Six pence a score, Oysters'.

Perhaps the liveliest and most readable chapter is that by Peter Brears on the social life of the gentry in York from c. 1650 onwards. The results of detailed research collected in this volume will provide a firm basis for future study of food and its supply in the city and its hinterland.

York

R. M. Butler

ANGLIAN YORK: A SURVEY OF THE EVIDENCE. By D. TWEDDLE, J. MOULDEN and E. LOGAN. 24 x 18 cm. Pp. 216. Pls 24 (8 in colour). Illus 68. Archaeology of York 7/2. York, 1999. Price: £30. ISBN 1 902771 06 0.

It is over thirty years since Rosemary Cramp's 1967 Borthwick Paper on Anglian and Viking York and this volume provides a comprehensive reappraisal of the archaeological evidence for the period from the mid-fifth century to 867. The context is provided by a stimulating introductory chapter on the documentary sources by David Rollason, prompting many archaeological questions. Professor Rollason notes that there are three possible models for the transition of power between the last historically recorded event pertaining to Roman York in 314, and the first concerning Anglian York in 627. He dismisses the idea that there can have been a controlled transfer of power to barbarian leaders, and also finds no evidence for a political handover to a Romano-British sub-kingdom, favouring instead the third model of a conquest by Anglians who established a new kingdom of Deira. Rollason accepts that Edwin was in possession of the Roman legionary fortress but argues that if there was direct continuity of power then the Roman church would have been likely to survive, rather than being built afresh. Turning to the end of Anglian York he also suggests that whilst there is proof of historiographical activity and the compilation of annals in York in the eighth and early ninth centuries, there is no proof of there being a royal residence in York following Edwin's rule. Although ex-kings turn up in York there are few current ones, and Rollason suggests that Edwin's gifts to the church would have left little room in the fortress. Although the archaeological evidence for the *wic* site at Fishergate is not rehearsed in detail here, Rollason takes up the idea that this may have been a colony of Frisian merchants, suggesting that it may therefore have been independent and not under royal control.

Following this historical scene-setting Patrick Ottaway provides a summary of the latest archaeological research into the Roman city, permitting its comparison with the Anglian settlement. Next, in a substantial contribution, Dominic Tweddle surveys the evidence for Anglian York. Tweddle uses the evidence to draw fascinating inferences about the developing topography of the city over 450 years. He concludes that there is more material evidence for continuing activity in York than for anywhere else in the country. Although it is unlikely that there was settlement within the walled area in the fifth and sixth centuries the major routeways remained in use. Subsequently both royal and ecclesiastical centres were constructed within the fortress walls with some refurbishment of the defences and the development of new diagonal routes between the Roman gates. There follows a comprehensive catalogue of all the evidence, with full bibliographical references. Finally, Jean

Moulden looks at the history of antiquarian investigation in York and considers the spatial biases introduced by the discovery process.

The apparent dearth of archaeological evidence for Anglian York has often been contrasted to the apparent and prominent role of York in the history of Northumbria. It is a tribute to the work of York Archaeological Trust over the last thirty years, and to the authors of this report, that this imbalance can now be re-appraised. They conclude that there are now some eighty-five sites with evidence of Anglian activity. This volume is an essential guide to them and will remain the key reference for early medievalists for some time.

University of York

Julian D. Richards

WHARRAM: THE SOUTH MANOR AREA. By P. A. STAMPER and R. A. CROFT. 30.5 x 21 cm. Pp. xiv and 223. Figs 100. Pls 11. Tables 39. York University Archaeological Publications 10. York, 2000. Price: £18. ISBN 0 946772 18 8.

This is the eighth in the series of reports on the four decades of excavation at Wharram Percy and the volume is well produced with a hard cover. It deals with excavations in the middle of the west row of the medieval village carried out between 1981 and 1990. Their intention was to follow up earlier finds of Anglo-Saxon pottery.

This is however more than a standard excavation report by virtue of the contribution by David Roffe entitled 'The Early History of Wharram Percy'; this discusses the pre-Conquest documentary evidence for Wharram Percy and sets it in the context of the latest thinking about the Yorkshire Domesday. The degree of uncertainty which surrounds the pre-Conquest situation is made clear in this account. However a ninth-century context of re-organisation of political and tenurial structures is clearly identified.

The excavation report proper is structured in the traditional fashion with excavation description followed by specialist reports. Of particular interest is the evidence for a Middle Saxon smithy which is discussed further by Gerry McDonnell. Continuing the metalworking theme J. G. Watts's discussion of the iron nails is particularly interesting in its equation of specific examples to their documented medieval counterparts.

The site sequence is summarised in six phases with minimal Prehistoric and Roman activity in Phase 1; the Middle Saxon establishment of boundaries and a variety of structures including the smithy in Phases 2–3; little activity other than stray finds of the ninth–tenth century representing Phase 4. Phase 5A represents immediate post-Conquest activity when structures associated with nearby manorial buildings were constructed; Phase 5B–D saw the manorial occupation replaced by that of farmsteads and the excavation recovered parts of four ancillary structures related to these farmsteads, which were abandoned in the fifteenth century.

The conclusion to the report is written in two parts with Julian Richards examining the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian evidence and Paul Stamper looking at the post-Conquest material. In his conclusion Richards discusses the origin of the planned two-row village and identifies three periods in which this might have taken place: Middle Saxon; ninth–tenth centuries following the Scandinavian invasions and in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. He concludes that the archaeological evidence does not support the first and that the absence of documentary corroboration makes the third unlikely, leaving the Anglo-Scandinavian period as the most likely.

I am afraid that I have difficulty with this conclusion on a number of counts: first, as all archaeologists know, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence and, secondly, archaeological evidence from the investigation of the property boundaries of northern two-row planned villages has provided dates of unremittingly post-Conquest construction. In the case of Wharram Percy the 'lynchet' bank, which is a key element of the structure of the planned village, was investigated as part of the South Manor excavations and dated by the excavators to the Norman period. The date of the establishment of the two-row planned settlement at Wharram Percy remains a matter for debate.

Tees Archaeology Service, Hartlepool

Robin Daniels

YORKSHIRE MONASTERIES: CLOISTER, LAND AND PEOPLE. By BERNARD JENNINGS. 24 x 17 cm. Pp. vi and 246. Illus 124 (31 in colour). Maps 14. Smith Settle, Otley, 1999. Price: £26.95 (hb), £17.95 (pbk). ISBN 1 85825 105 2 (pbk); 1 85825 106 0 (hb).

This new account of Yorkshire's monasteries provides a welcome overview of religious life during the period 1060–1540. It is the first in a new series 'Exploring Historic Yorkshire'. The author and series editor interprets 'exploring' as 'relating the historical record with what can be seen on the ground', whilst Yorkshire is the pre-1974 county. The declared intention is fully maintained in this well-illustrated book.

A basic outline covers the main highlights in local monastic history which are set within the broader framework of late medieval religious expressions. When the author moves to his more detailed consideration of the separate orders of monks, canons, nuns and friars, there is a change of approach. He concentrates upon two or three specific monasteries in each category, chosen for the completeness of the historical record (especially narrative chronicles), the importance of their architecture and the fuller evidence of estate management and growth. As an approach it is usually successful though sometimes the changes of emphasis are abruptly handled. The supporting illustrations are well chosen, ranging from Victorian prints to recently commissioned colour photographs and from early excavation plans to 1950s air photographs.

However the claim to elucidate 'history etched on the landscape' is less convincing when the monastic estates are discussed. It is usually a recital of donated or purchased territory, supported by rather skeletal maps which seldom show rivers and never show contours. There are no photographs or plans of landscape features, mills or granges. The works of Aston, Moorhouse and all the Cistercian landscape historians of the past decade are omitted. Indeed few authorities writing since 1990 are cited, with no mention of Golding 1995 on the Gilbertines, Gilchrist 1994 and 1995 on religious women, and Fitzgerald-Lombard 1992 on the Carmelites. Occasionally the information is inaccurate: Saint Hilda was buried at Glastonbury after 946; Malton's nave north aisle was not destroyed before the Dissolution but was rebuilt in about 1510 by prior Shotton; Marrick's east window has repaired medieval tracery (Whitaker's illustration was poorly drawn). There are many cases where better cross-reference would have been advantageous. The index is 'selective' without indicating the basis of the author's own selection.

At his best Professor Jennings brings a lightness of touch or an apt analogy with modern life: 'some clergy handed out excommunications like parking tickets'. The final chapter entitled Last Days has a particularly felicitous opening paragraph and a sympathetic treatment of Robert Aske, the leader of The Pilgrimage of Grace. The volume is an attractive addition to the general surveys of Yorkshire monasteries and promises well for the future of the advertised series.

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

MEDIEVAL YORKSHIRE TOWNS: PEOPLE, BUILDINGS AND SPACES. By GEORGE SHEERAN. 24.5 x 19 cm. Pp. x and 212. Illus 111. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1998. Price: £19.95 pbk. ISBN 1 85331 242 8.

The author tackles his topic in a readable and lively fashion, concentrating upon twenty towns, though York has the major share of attention and examples. The book relies on a number of recent excavations and urban studies, but does not neglect documentary evidence especially in York, Wakefield and Bradford. The chapters on housing and on religious buildings are the strengths in this survey. The weaknesses are the erratic index and the inadequate referencing of illustrations. The town plans, though numbered, are not included in the List of Contents. Perhaps they were an after-thought, but are nevertheless welcome.

*A full review has not become available owing to the indisposition of the original reviewer.

SHERIFFS' COURT BOOKS OF THE CITY OF YORK, 1471–1500. By P. M. STELL. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. 271. Pl. 1 (colour). York City Archives, York, 1999. Price: £10 (from York City Archives).

Amidst the great wealth of the city of York's surviving medieval archives it is unfortunate that so few of the records of the various city courts have been preserved. The publication of the few surviving records of the sheriffs' courts in the city before 1500 is thus especially welcome.

On 18 May 1396 the city of York was granted the status of a county in royal administration and the office of city sheriff dates from that charter. Previously the senior officials, after the mayor, had been three bailiffs. After 1396 two city sheriffs replaced the former bailiffs and took over some of their old responsibilities as well as acquiring some new ones. The sheriffs' responsibilities were both fiscal (they were responsible for accounting for various financial payments due from the city to the crown) and judicial. It is their judicial responsibilities which are recorded in the surviving sheriffs' court books, which contain, in particular, the records of the sheriffs' court of pleas (which sat three times a week) for two periods: 1478–79 and 1498–1500. In addition there are a small number of miscellaneous cases from earlier in the 1470s, some lists of dates of the sheriffs' county court (which sat once every four weeks), some expense accounts and some copies of royal writs and cases in the King's Bench. A very brief introduction summarises the state of the records and is typically modest about the editorial work required to bring them to publication.

Without doubt the main interest in the work for the historian is in the records of the court of pleas, which heard something like 2000 cases in the three years for which records survive. The vast majority of these are cases of debt and trespass. (Only forty-seven, for example, concerned cases brought under the Statute of Labourers.) In most cases only the bare bones of the plea, and the action taken by the court, are recorded. Nevertheless there is still material of interest here for those interested in the developing procedures of local courts, in the history of credit and in the social status of those involved in court actions.

Philip Stell has presented these records verbatim, translated from the original Latin into modern English, in order to ensure the widest possible readership. He has exploited modern technology to the full to accomplish this task as efficiently as possible, and has also consulted widely among experts in legal history and Latin to ensure the technical accuracy of his work. This publication is a real service to the citizens of York and their history.

University of York

Sarah Rees Jones

A revised edition has since been prepared with some additional archive material.

THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND. By DAVID MORRIS. 23 x 16 cm. Pp. xvi and 254. Illus 54. Ebor Press, York, 2000. Price: £15. ISBN 1 85072 240 4.

This book is clearly a labour of love, providing a chronological record of the aristocracy who held Richmond Castle and its Honour or who held the title of count, earl or duke of Richmond, for over nine centuries. Accordingly the work falls into two uneven halves: the first part (110 pages) discusses the twenty-two lords and earls from the period of the Norman Conquest until the death of King Henry VII, Earl of Richmond, in 1509. In the earlier centuries the links were strongly between Yorkshire and the duchy of Brittany, an association between title and territory eventually broken in 1399. The second part of the book (140 pages) is concerned with the dukes of Richmond. These later chapters have brief bibliographies at the end of each chapter; the fourteen earlier chapters have their bibliography gathered in notes in the middle of the book, thereby emphasising the differences in approach.

The author provides a gentle narrative, seldom concerned with geography or architecture, but focussing on the biographical details. No new primary research is undertaken. Indeed the work could be regarded as placing *The Complete Peerage* in a more lively historical context. There is nothing new on the lands of Richmondshire and, despite the attractive photograph of Richmond castle on the dust jacket, this castle has a very minor role in the narrative. Their owners and occupiers during the medieval centuries are carefully enumerated with family pedigrees or 'lineage tables' helpfully included to show the lines of descent both of title and ownership, which at times were quite separate.

With Henry Fitzroy, the first Duke of Richmond, and Henry VIII's illegitimate son, the title

and some Yorkshire territory were again united until 1532. However after 1623 subsequent dukes of Richmond, with additional ducal titles of Lennox and later of Gordon, were Scottish noblemen with a very tenuous link to Yorkshire. Indeed from 1697 Goodwood in Sussex was the family mansion and Gordon Castle was far more important than Richmond. Their mini-biographies are usually related to the contemporary political scene. Occasional colourful episodes at the royal court, appropriate elegies, and family portraits enliven the narrative account. The book has clear typeface and the many illustrations are well produced.

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

HALIFAX. By JOHN A. HARGREAVES. 25 x 17.5 cm. Pp. xii and 274. Illus 150. Edinburgh University Press and Carnegie Publishing Ltd, Lancaster, 1999. Price: £18. ISBN 1 85331 217 7.

Dr Hargreaves is Honorary Secretary of the Halifax Antiquarian Society and Editor of their Transactions. This carefully constructed book reflects his extensive knowledge and expertise. The arrangement of the contents page provides a good overview of the text and includes a series of contemporary quotations. They highlight the main themes and contrasts in the book: from specialisation in textile production to diversification and from scenic beauty to industrial pollution and back again. The first chapter describes the geography and environment of Halifax, and the remainder divide the history of the town's development into six periods: before 1500; 1500–1750; 1750–1850; 1851–1914; 1914–45; and Halifax since 1945. The notes for each chapter are set out on pages 254 to 268 and reveal the wide range of sources used. The notes are difficult to use, however, as often several sources are given for a paragraph. Full bibliographical details have been given just once, and not always at the first reference. For example, Dr Hargreaves's thesis is referenced eleven times before full details are given in chapter 6 note 72. A proper bibliography would have brought together the wide range of sources into a valuable list, and the notes could have then referred to it.

There are 150 fine illustrations which are clear and informative, with wordy captions which sometimes repeat text from the body of the book. The use of shading and slight 'skewing' of those with text gives an amusing impression that miniaturised posters, diary extracts and notices have fluttered onto the open page. The author uses the voice of people from all social circumstances to provide impressions of the town at every stage. Chapter five has a very effective placing of a photograph of the 1906 woodwork class at Queen's Road Board School, above St Luke's Hospital, Salterhebble where the caption tells us that 400 beds were acquired for military use nine years later. A sense of foreboding is heightened by the conclusion of chapter five where a quote from Samson Clark in 1915 ends '... the hills and moorland delight the eye and fill one with the joy of life'. Chapter six (1914–45) then opens with details of the loss of life in the two world wars.

Dr Hargreaves's Ph.D. thesis, 'Religion and Society in the parish of Halifax, c. 1740–1914' (Huddersfield University, 1991) and many papers from the Halifax Antiquarian Society's Transactions are the backbone of the book. On page ix of his preface the author states his central aim, to answer the question 'why Halifax exists today, in this place, with its distinctive built environment, with its prevailing economic social, political and cultural characteristics, and with its current relationships with Calderdale, West Yorkshire, the UK and the world'. He has provided answers through careful analysis of a mass of information, and presents the reader with a scholarly and readable work which will provide inspiration for the future.

Carleton-in-Craven

Susan Wrathmell

FOUR AINSTY TOWNSHIPS: THE HISTORY OF BOLTON PERCY, APPLETON ROEBUCK, COLTON AND STEETON 1066–1875. By MARJORIE J. HARRISON. 21 x 15 cm. Pp. iii and 294. Illus 28. Ainsty Books, Appleton Roebuck, 2000. Price: £14 pbk. plus £2 p. & p. ISBN 0 953827 80 1. Available from 8 Northfield Way, Appleton Roebuck, York YO23 7EA.

The four townships which form the subject of this book were all in the old parish of Bolton Percy,

some ten miles south-west of York, at the junction of the River Wharfe with the River Ouse. Three of the townships survive as villages today, but Steeton was depopulated by the sixteenth century and two smaller townships, Pallathorpe and Hornington, were incorporated in Bolton during the Middle Ages, while Appleton grew in importance until it was joined with Acaster Selby in 1875 to form a separate parish. The author, a local historian, has combined the results of some twenty years' research into manuscript and printed sources and the present topography to form a detailed account of this small but distinctive area with fascinating insights into the lives of local people.

Surviving charters illustrate the changing patterns of landholding, and wills and inventories present an intimate picture of possessions and the buildings that contained them. Other general topics include agriculture and local industries, the importance of religion, the treatment of the poor, and the coming of the railways in the nineteenth century.

Bolton, the richest township, was distinguished by its splendid church, consecrated in 1424, and by its rectors, often men of national importance, including Edmund Bunny who probably commissioned the invaluable 1596 map and survey of the whole parish. Appleton, the largest township, contained the nunnery of Nun Appleton, founded in the mid-twelfth century; a previously unrecognised survey of its buildings, made *c.* 1536, emphasises its size and importance. After the Dissolution it was acquired by the Fairfax family, already landowners at Steeton, who were probably responsible for the depopulation of the village there. Nun Appleton was the home of Thomas Fairfax, of Civil War fame, and for a short time of the poet Andrew Marvell. Thereafter it was bought by the Milners, an upwardly mobile family of cloth merchants from Leeds, who successfully aspired to gentry status and a baronetcy.

The illustrations are attractive, with reproductions of parts of the 1596 survey, Fairfax and Milner family portraits, and photographs of buildings which survived into the twentieth century. References in the text would have made them more useful, and additional plans showing the principal features within each township would have made the topographical discussions easier to follow.

The author refers to fields with surviving ridge and furrow. Development of one such field in the centre of Appleton Roebuck in the 1960s provided a home for the author, and indirectly led to the research encapsulated in this attractive book, which is of much more than local interest.

Crayke, York

Valerie Black

THE COMPLEAT HOUSEKEEPER: A HOUSEHOLD IN QUEEN ANNE TIMES. By PETER BREARS. 25.5 x 20.5 cm. Pp. x and 136. Illus 34. Wakefield Historical Publications, vol. 38. Wakefield, 2000. Price: £18 plus £2.35 p. & p. ISBN 0 901869 41 4. Available from 19 Pinder's Grove, Wakefield WF1 4AH.

In 1992 Peter Brears had the good fortune of being able to purchase the account book of a Yorkshire gentry household in a London saleroom. When examined, it was found to be a full and elaborate set of accounts for the household of Henry Curre of Kildwick near Skipton (d. 1723) covering the years 1700–14. Brears has supplemented this volume with some details from an earlier Curre account book, now in Bradford Archives, to produce a very full and attractive account of the Curre household at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A selection of the chapter titles give the range of the work (and the quality of the source): 'the gardens', 'housekeeping', 'household textiles', 'baking, brewing and dairywork', 'cooking equipment' and 'hygiene and health'. The final chapter is an exceptionally detailed account of the funeral of Margaret Curre, Henry's first wife, in 1697.

The book is full of fascination. The discussions of the Curre's diet and their purchases are of the highest order and interest and will attract a specialist readership from far and wide. Where else does one find a discussion of the game purchased by a gentry family three hundred years ago, or the sort of drugs purchased (we learn that the family had worms)? These extremely detailed accounts allow Brears to display his longstanding interest in cooking and the technology of food preparation and he brings considerable erudition to entries which would leave most of us puzzled —

green geese or cabbage nets. There are many surprising insights. The female members of this *gentry* household span linen and had their yarn woven in Kildwick. They ate well: the feast at Margaret Currer's funeral included lobster, crab, oysters, olives and two dozen each of oranges and lemons from York. The familiar problem with accounts such as these is that they are a record of goods or services purchased: they have little to say about areas of produce in which the household was self-sufficient. Brears appreciates this. He reads the seasonal pattern of egg purchases as reflecting the shortfall in the number of eggs laid by Currer's own hens: it would have been interesting to have some price data attached to this chart. In much of the book self-sufficiency has to be inferred from, for instance, the record of milling or the purchase of butter pots and cheese cloth. We learn nothing about the Currers' farming activities or their employment of servants and, taken on its own, it would mislead badly over such matters as their consumption of meat. (Incidentally, we see them purchasing joints of Scotch cattle meat.)

One would have liked more. Brears adopts an anecdote-counter-anecdote approach with relatively little quantification. The experience of one year is sometimes taken as representative. There is apparently a tabulation of household expenses from 1686–1718 contained in the account book: one would have liked it reproduced to get some sense of what the household cost. The Currers' social circle could be delineated, it seems, from the lists of people invited to attend Margaret Currer's funeral. Other than drawing on a narrow range of other account books and some recipe books, he sticks pretty close to his manuscripts. He shows little interest in the new world of goods of the early eighteenth century which has attracted much recent attention from historians. Of course, these locally maintained accounts may have said little about the purchase of big capital items. I did wonder whether more might have been made of the changing clothing needs of the growing Currer children. And this is an account of the household and not the Currers. The hall and its surrounding buildings are not really described although they are illustrated. One must congratulate the author on his splendid drawings included in every chapter. It is a pity that the painting on the dust jacket — an eighteenth-century view of the Hall — is not attributed to any source. I can add one reference which Brears has missed but would doubtless have enjoyed. There is a splendid plan of 1738 of Kildwick Hall and its surroundings — including the Currers' modest park — reproduced in D. Fletcher, *The emergence of estate maps* (1995), plate 25, from an original in the archives of Christ Church, Oxford.

Brears has a clear purpose and audience in mind. It is not to complain to say that the Currers deserve attention from other historians and that neither their archive nor these account books are fully mined. If Brears was fortunate to secure the account book, then we are equally fortunate that it found such a splendid exponent in Peter Brears.

University of Reading

R. W. Hoyle

YORKSHIRE: THE GENEALOGISTS LIBRARY GUIDE. By STUART A. RAYMOND. 21 x 15 cm. Federation of Family History Societies Ltd, Bury, Lancs., 2000. ISSN 1033-2065 (all volumes).

1. Information Sources for Yorkshire Genealogists. Pp. 63. Price: £6. ISBN 1 86006 118 4; and 1 899668 13 6.
 2. Yorkshire Parish Registers, Monumental Inscriptions and Wills. Pp. 87. Price: £6.50. ISBN 1 86006 113 2.
 3. Yorkshire Lists of Names. Pp. 62. Price: £6. ISBN 1 86006 120 6; and 1 899668 12 8.
 4. Administrative Records for Yorkshire Genealogists. Pp. 91. Price: £6.50. ISBN 1 86006 121 4; and 1 899668 14 4.
 5. Yorkshire Occupations. Pp. 47. Price: £4.60. ISBN 1 86006 114 1.
 6. Yorkshire Family Histories and Pedigrees. Pp. 100. Price: £6.50. ISBN 1 86006 112 5.
- All available from S. A. and M. J. Raymond, P.O. Box 35, Exeter EX1 3YZ.

This series of guides to printed sources for Yorkshire genealogists is to be welcomed. As the author says, many family historians, when they begin their research, do not realise just how much published information is readily available. Concentrating too early on primary sources can waste a lot of time and often subjects the archive material to avoidable wear and tear. Yet, without

guidance, genealogists are frequently uncertain as to how otherwise to begin. The aim of this series, which is admirably achieved, is to point family historians, particularly inexperienced ones, in the right direction. Mr Raymond readily admits that usefulness has been his prime aim, that there will be omissions, and that the task of compiling a totally comprehensive bibliography of appropriate printed sources for Yorkshire genealogists is in any case almost impossible. Nevertheless, what has been achieved will provide much needed and invaluable assistance.

The guides are very easy to use. The same format is followed in all six, with the main section in each case comprising an extensive bibliography. These are arranged thematically or by subject, and then by place or person. Each book is clearly described, often with additional explanatory comment. There are also adequate introductions and notes on abbreviations and biographical presentation, helpful indexes and details of libraries and record offices where listed material can be seen. The guides do not set out to describe how to carry out genealogical research, but some timely advice is included as well, for instance, just because something has been published, it does not guarantee accuracy.

More specifically, to amplify the guide books' brief titles, Yorkshire's history, bibliography, archives, journals, etc. are covered in Guide 1. Guide 3 is concerned with official lists of names, e.g. from taxation records, poll books and electoral registers, census material, directories, etc. Guide 6 looks at family histories, pedigrees, heraldry, and biographical dictionaries. Although each volume can stand perfectly well alone, it is as a set that the ground covered is impressive. As a former Yorkshire Archaeological Society Librarian, Mr Raymond will know that not just genealogists will appreciate the formidable task he has undertaken in collecting all this information together. Librarians, archivists and historians will also want to keep these guides to hand for regular reference.

Claremont, Leeds

Robert Frost

THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT AT FULNECK, 1742-1790. By GEOFFREY STEAD. 21 x 13.5 cm. Pp. viii and 128. Pls 8. Tables 14. Thoresby Society, Second series, vol. 9. Leeds, 1999. Price: £9.50. ISBN 0 900 741 55 4.

Dr Stead has provided us with a detailed account of this important religious and social experiment which was brought to the West Riding by refugees in the summer of 1742, partly at the invitation of Benjamin Ingham, a local clerical follower of Wesley who had first come across the Moravians during a mission to colonial Georgia. Building on the evangelical foundations laid by Ingham the Moravians quickly expanded their support in West Yorkshire, despite a policy which precluded proselytising. In 1742 they began with six preaching places and thirteen other locations with regular meetings and by the end of 1743 these had grown to eleven and forty-three respectively. By this date Count Zinzendorf, the secular and spiritual leader of the founding religious community at Hernhutt in Saxony, had visited Yorkshire and authorised the purchase of a property suitable for a settled community on the southern edge of Pudsey, acquired in January 1744, and called Fulneck from 1763. The physical, social and religious growth of this community forms the subject of the book: it is an institutional history written largely from the perspective of the membership. Between 1742 and 1783, 1468 adults were received into the community, the ratio of women to men being almost 2:1. Almost 90 per cent of members were of local origin, though the leadership remained German, and they were mostly employed in the textile trade. The Fulneck community participated in this trade with mixed success so that, increasingly, the men sought work outside where they could earn higher wages. The tension between internal loyalty and external attractions is present throughout the study. Indeed more could have been made of it with a fuller contextualising of the general state of the West Riding economy and with broader consideration of how the Moravians were perceived by their neighbours, who are notably absent from the account. What is clear is that the social and religious discipline of the community remained strong, with only seventy-eight men (14%) withdrawing completely from the community between 1742 and 1783, and only twenty-eight women (3%). The success among females is attributed to the social and religious opportunities provided within the single women's choir house. Over half of the female

adherents remained unmarried and only fifteen married without the approval of the community, sought personally from Zinzendorf at Hernhutt. That level of almost feudal control created opposition and could not be sustained after the count's death, so that by the end of the period the author concludes that the Moravians represented a small company of believers not very different from the more powerful Methodists. The institutional story is clearly set out, but more attention to the social context of the West Riding and the wider international context of 'the great awakening' (no reference is made to the work of Professor Ward) would have strengthened this useful study.

University of York

W. J. Sheils

YORKSHIRE RETURNS OF THE 1851 CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP. VOLUME 1: INTRODUCTION, CITY OF YORK AND THE EAST RIDING. Edited by JOHN WOLFFE. 25 x 17 cm. Pp. xviii and 115. Borthwick Texts and Calendars 25. University of York, 2000. Price: £12.50 plus £1 p. & p. ISBN 0 903857 95 2. Available from Borthwick Publications, St Anthony's Hall, Peasholme Green, York YO1 7PW.

The religious census of 1851 aroused considerable suspicion about the purposes behind its collection and hostility in case it was used against the privileges of the Anglican Church, especially its revenues. Although the anxieties were most deeply felt in Wales, there are a few indications from this Yorkshire material of the antagonism between the clergy of the established church and the Dissenters, particularly on the accuracy of the attendance figures and the methods used to swell the numbers on census day, a stormy Sunday 30 March. This volume, the first of an intended four, provides full details from nearly 700 churches and chapels; often rebuilding dates for churches or erection dates for chapels are given as well as the religious information. The edition is easy to follow and shows the value of an accurate hand-list which may give minimum details or could provide lengthy commentaries on their particular circumstances from Anglican clergy. This is a helpful addition to the literature of religious observance in the middle of the nineteenth century and will be a very useful aid to local historians.

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

THE GREAT EXODUS: THE EVACUATION OF LEEDS SCHOOLCHILDREN 1939-1945. By ROY C. BOUD. 21.5 x 15 cm. Pp. 114. Illus. 14. Publications of the Thoresby Society, 2nd series, Vol. 10 (2000 for 1999). Leeds, 2000. Price: £6.00 plus £1.20 p. & p. ISBN 0 900741 58 9.

As a young child I was an evacuee from Leeds, but as I also became both a parent and teacher I find it difficult to decide in which role I found this well-researched book so interesting. Evacuation was an enormous undertaking for the authorities, especially for George Guest, the Director of Education for Leeds, and the book displays the very numerous problems which arose or were created for him. The very brief final evaluation is balanced and gives due consideration to the trying and unique circumstances of the players in this drama. It properly takes account of the beliefs and situation of that time.

Leeds provides a representative example of the countrywide circumstances, and the book also deals briefly with its later role as a reception area. Maybe it is because Alan Bennett referred to it on television or because my wife went privately to Dent that I think private evacuation is only briefly dealt with. As the author says, there is a lack of any official figures. Even so, Dr Boud might have indicated in his title that he deals only with the *official* evacuation.

One is very aware of the immensity of the dispersal and the unreal, but understandable, calls for information from those responsible. The variety of those problems came as a surprise: in my case, for example, those arising from religious needs or from the deep, widespread poverty. There were both unhelpful and kind responses from different people. The demands made on the teachers involved are detailed and reveal much to their credit, even though expectations were far higher sixty years ago, particularly at a time of national emergency.

After an initial section of background and the preparation which necessarily is concerned almost

exclusively with official plans, the outcome was admirably supported by personal experience of individuals. These derive from letters and memories, adding individual colour, but these are rather few and so this book should be seen for what it is, and sets out to be, namely, an academic study of the event. It does seem to reflect what I experienced and the accounts of my relations who were involved — as pupils, parents, teacher and head teacher. As those participants become fewer, it gives valuable background to an event which was for me happy and by now largely forgotten.

Matlock

George Wigglesworth

THE PEAK DISTRICT JOURNAL OF NATURAL HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. 1 (1999), A4 size. Pp. 84. Figs 47. Tables. ISSN 1360-4422.

Includes articles on historic woodlands, construction and wildlife of dewponds, charcoal burning, peat cutting in south Pennines, and flint scatters on Burbage Moor, Sheffield.

PEATLAND ECOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY: MANAGEMENT OF A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE. Edited by IAN D. ROTHERHAM. A4 size. Pp. 100. Figs. Tables. ISSN 1354-0262.

Contains sixteen papers from 1997 conference, mainly Peak District and Humberhead levels.

IN THE PALM OF A DALE. By DAVID MORGAN REES. 24 x 17 cm. Pp. x and 168. Illus 142. Otley: Smith Settle, 2000. Price £14.95 (hbk), £11.95 (pbk). ISBN 1 85825 136 2 (hbk), 1 85825 135 4 (pbk).

This affectionately written and fully illustrated account records the various tasks of the community throughout the year at Marske in Swaledale. These monthly episodes and the social history of the past year will become a rich source for family historians and students of rural life in a few generations time.

OF MALET, MALBIS AND FAIRFAX: A HISTORY OF ACASTER MALBIS. Edited by C. A. APPLEBY and D. B. SMITH. 23.5 x 17 cm. Pp. viii and 84. Illus 35. York: Acaster Malbis Millennium Book Group, 2000. Price £6.50 (pbk) (plus £1.25 p. & p.). ISBN 0 9539344 0 3. Available from Barbican Bookshop, York or C. A. Appleby, Sycamore House, Mill Lane, Acaster Malbis, York YO23 2UL.

This attractively produced book records Acaster Malbis, a village on the west bank of the Ouse downstream from York, from prehistory to the present day. The main concentration is upon the village's history over the past three centuries. It covers social history and institutions, with less emphasis on the fields and buildings, though recording many aspects of the local economy. The editors helpfully explain all the technical historical terms for a non-specialist audience. The appendix giving lists of tenants' names will be helpful to family historians. The book is well researched and is amply illustrated from a wide variety of sources.

BARWICK SCHOOL: EDUCATION IN A YORKSHIRE VILLAGE. By ARTHUR BANTOFT. 21 x 15 cm. Pp. 116. Illus 16. Wendel Books, Barwick-in-Elmet Historical Society, n.d. [2000]. Price £5.95. ISBN 0 9520572 1 2. Available from the author, 541 Leeds Road, Scholes, Leeds LS15 4DA at £6.50 (postage paid).

The author gives a fluent account of Barwick Church School from its foundation in 1861 until its closure in 1985, but he also records the schoolmasters in the village from 1723 and mentions the private boarding schools. There is ample information on the teachers, the subjects taught, the attainments of the pupils, the hazards of contagious illnesses and the extent of non-attendance

caused by agricultural work. Extensive reliance is made of the school logbooks (1863–1985) and of local memories since 1945. There are illustrations of the school groups, mainly teaching staff, and of the building. The study is placed within the wider context of diocesan and county administration.

LEEDS JEWRY, 1930–1939: THE CHALLENGE OF ANTI-SEMITISM. By AMANDA BERGEN. 21.5 x 15 cm. Pp. 40. Figs 11. Publications of the Thoresby Society, 2nd ser., vol. 10 (2000 for 1999). Price £2.50 plus 80p p. & p. ISBN 0 900741 57 0.

Dr Bergen charts the response of Jews in Leeds during this troubled decade. A fragmented and often disadvantaged community had to face sporadic local anti-Semitism and then the politically fomented provocation by Mosley's Blackshirts. The more serious threat of Nazi fascism in Germany and its neighbours was met with an active and sympathetic response at a practical level with training schemes, housing for refugees and support for ejected academics. Throughout the decade Zionism was a growing cause, offering a united hope of a greater cultural freedom. The energy of the few idealists was matched by the philanthropy of Sir Montague Burton and the generosity of other employers and their workers. Strangely the rabbinate and synagogues are scarcely mentioned.

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